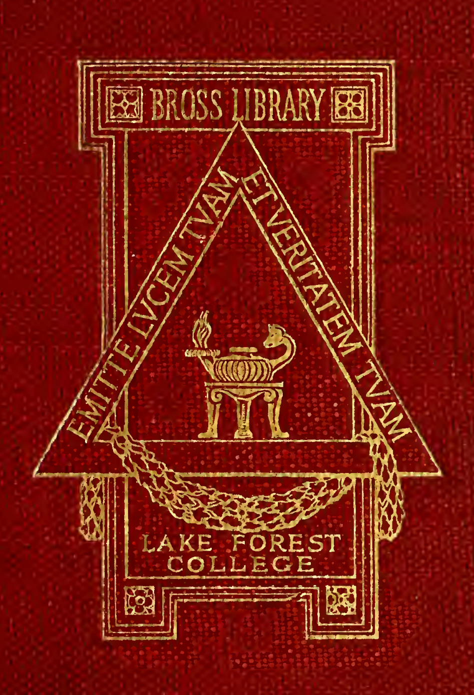

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VOLUME V





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THE BROSS LECTURES . . 1908

THE RELIGIONS OF MODERN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE
LAKE FOREST COLLEGE
ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE LATE
WILLIAM BROSS

BY

FREDERICK JONES BLISS, Ph.D.

AUTHOR OF
"EXCAVATIONS AT JERUSALEM, 1894–1897"
"THE DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINE EXPLORATION," ETC.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
NEW YORK 1912

Published April, 1912



TO DANIEL BLISS

PRESIDENT-EMERITUS OF THE SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE

WHO, DURING MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS
SPENT AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF
THE MANY RELIGIONS OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE,
HAS MANIFESTED IN HIS OWN LIFE
RELIGION PURE AND UNDEFILED, THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED
WITH FILIAL REVERENCE

BY HIS SON



THE BROSS FOUNDATION

The Bross Lectures are an outgrowth of a fund established in 1879 by the late William Bross, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois from 1866 to 1870. Desiring some memorial of his son, Nathaniel Bross, who died in 1856, Mr. Bross entered into an agreement with the "Trustees of Lake Forest University," whereby there was finally transferred to them the sum of forty thousand dollars, the income of which was to accumulate in perpetuity for successive periods of ten years, the accumulations of one decade to be spent in the following decade, for the purpose of stimulating the best books or treatises "*on the connection, relation, and mutual bearing of any practical science, the history of our race, or the facts in any department of knowledge, with and upon the Christian Religion.*" The object of the donor was to "*call out the best efforts of the highest talent and the ripest scholarship of the world to illustrate from science, or from any department of knowledge, and to demonstrate the divine origin and the authority of the Christian Scriptures; and, further, to show how both science and revelation coincide and prove the existence, the providence, or any or all of the attributes of the only living and true God, 'infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.'*"

The gift contemplated in the original agreement of 1879 was finally consummated in 1890. The first decade of the accumulation of interest having closed in 1900, the Trustees of the Bross Fund began at this time to carry out the provisions of the deed of gift. It was determined to give the general title of "The Bross Library" to the series of books purchased and published with the proceeds of the Bross Fund. In accordance with the express wish of the donor, that the "Evidences of Christianity" of his "very dear friend and teacher, Mark Hopkins, D.D.," be purchased

and "ever numbered and known as No. 1 of the series," the Trustees secured the copyright of this work, which has been republished in a presentation edition as Volume I of the Bross Library.

The trust agreement prescribed two methods by which the production of books and treatises of the nature contemplated by the donor was to be stimulated:

1. The Trustees were empowered to offer one or more prizes during each decade, the competition for which was to be thrown open to "the scientific men, the Christian philosophers and historians of all nations." In accordance with this provision, a prize of $6,000 was offered in 1902 for the best book fulfilling the conditions of the deed of gift, the competing manuscripts to be presented on or before June 1, 1905. The prize was awarded to the Reverend James Orr, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow, for his treatise on "The Problem of the Old Testament," which was published in 1906 as Volume III of the Bross Library. The next decennial prize will be awarded in 1915, and the announcement of the conditions may be obtained from the President of Lake Forest College.

2. The Trustees were also empowered to "select and designate any particular scientific man or Christian philosopher and the subject on which he shall write," and to "agree with him as to the sum he shall receive for the book or treatise to be written." Under this provision the Trustees have, from time to time, invited eminent scholars to deliver courses of lectures before Lake Forest College, such courses to be subsequently published as volumes in the Bross Library. The first course of lectures, on "Obligatory Morality," was delivered in May, 1903, by the Reverend Francis Landey Patton, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton Theological Seminary. The copyright of these lectures is now the property of the Trustees of the Bross Fund. The second course of lectures, on "The Bible: Its Origin and Nature," was delivered in May, 1904, by the Reverend Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in New College, Edinburgh. These lectures were published

in 1905 as Volume II of the Bross Library. The third course of lectures, on "The Bible of Nature," was delivered in September and October, 1907, by Mr. J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen. These lectures were published in 1908 as Volume IV of the Bross Library. The fourth course of lectures, on "The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine," was delivered from November 30 to December 14, 1908, by Frederick Jones Bliss, Ph.D., of Beirut, Syria. These lectures are embodied in the present volume.

JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN,
President of Lake Forest College.

LAKE FOREST, ILLINOIS,
February, 1912.



PREFACE

This volume is an expansion of the Bross Lectures delivered at Lake Forest College in 1908. In order to collect material two journeys were made from the United States to Syria and Palestine, one before and one after the delivery of the lectures. For a large part of his life, moreover, the author has been resident in these lands, Syria, indeed, being his birthplace. While many books have been consulted, it is in human documents that the richest material has been found. The Greek liturgies have been studied, but the manual acts of the mass were explained to me in the sitting-room of a kindly parish priest whose wife had baked the communion loaf which he reverently used in illustration. Learned books on the dervishes have been consulted, but it was through the quaint tales of a gentle-eyed sheikh in Jerusalem, who left his humble task of scouring pots and kettles to make me a visit, that I learned past all forgetting that, in spite of the wild demonstrations which travellers witness for a fee in Constantinople and Cairo, the controlling motive of the dervish life is the hunger and thirst after righteousness. Everywhere I was received with kindness. I had interviews with the Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Members of the hierarchies of other Eastern churches—Greek Catholic, Syrian, Maronite—imparted valuable information. Missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, gave of their knowledge and experience. Moslems of all classes spoke freely of their religion. To the students and graduates of the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout I am greatly indebted. A list of those from whom I have received help would swell to catalogue dimensions. Such a list, indeed, would be sadly incomplete, for I know not even the names of many who courteously answered my questions as we chanced to travel together. Without invidiousness I may

mention the Orthodox Bishop of Beyrout; the Reverend J. Stewart Crawford, Professor of Biblical Studies at the Syrian Protestant College; the Reverend Dr. Hoskins, of Beyrout; the Reverend J. E. Hanauer, Missionary of the London Jews' Society, at Damascus; Mr. Serapion Murâd, of Jaffa; Dr. Taufîq Sallûm and the Reverend Abdallah Messûh, of Hama; Mr. A. T. Gelat, Mr. E. A. Gelat, and Mr. George Saîd, of Jerusalem; Mr. George Yanni, of Tripoli; Mr. Hanna Khubbâz, of Hums; Mr. Gibrân Luîs and Mr. Amîn Faris, of Damascus. I have also received information from that intrepid traveller, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, author of "The Desert and the Sown." Valuable use has been made of the original Syrian journals of the late Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss. Some of these were loaned to me by the authorities of the Chicago Theological Seminary. The latest journals, which Dr. Curtiss never lived to use in literary work, were confided to my care by the late Professor Scott of the same institution, whose property they were. After his death his family generously permitted me to continue using them.

A certain lack of proportion may be observed in the space here devoted to the different cults respectively. For example, there are no chapters dealing exclusively with the Jews or with the secret religions, the latter being briefly treated as heretical offshoots of Islam. In order to adapt the great amount of material which had been collected to the space allotted to a volume of the Bross Library, both condensation and elimination became imperative. The final form was determined by a number of reasons which it is not necessary to detail. I hope to develop in the future the material already gathered but not here used, material relating to the Jews, Druses, Nuseirîyeh, and Isma'ilîyeh.

F. J. B.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.,
January, 1912.

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THE RELIGIONS OF
MODERN SYRIA AND PALESTINE



CHAPTER I

THE HISTORIC SETTING

Introductory Note

Twenty-five hundred feet above the Mediterranean, and within sound of its waves, there is an irregular line of five villages stretching for about two miles along the seaward slope of the Lebanon. This small group, taken almost at random from the hundreds of mountain towns, may serve to illustrate the scope of this volume. The largest village, Sûq-el-Gharb, or the Western Market, is peopled mainly by members of the Greek Orthodox Church, though it contains also a number of families now Protestant. Separated on the north from the Western Market by no perceptible boundary runs out Mekkîn, with its large convent belonging to the Greek Catholics, or Greeks now united to Rome. Below Sûq-el-Gharb and a little to the south, partly concealed by a grove of ancient oaks, nestles 'Aitât, inhabited almost entirely by Druses, followers of a religion of secrecy and mystery, one of the heretical offshoots of Islam. Higher up on the range is planted the hamlet of Kêfûn, which contains nothing but Mohammedans, not Orthodox Sunnis, like those resident in the city of Beyrout, which gleams on the plains below, but Metawileh Shi'ahs, of the sect of Islam that rules in Persia. And, last of the group, to the south is Shemlan, where are found practically none but Maronites, proud of their membership in the National Syrian Church of the Lebanon; like the Greek Catholics, Eastern in rite and practice, and, like them, giving allegiance to a Western pope. Thus segregated by groups in the compass of a few hundred yards, we find examples of all the religions to be here discussed at length, except the Sunni Moslems and the Jacobite and Catholic Syrians.

Before showing how and when these various bodies found a home in Syria and Palestine, we may dwell for a moment on the hold which religion itself, apart from any particular form, has on the whole Syrian people. The religious consciousness, everywhere and at all times, is the consciousness of the relation of the individual to God, whatever the idea of God may be. Apart from the quality of the conception, I assert that the idea of God is present to the common consciousness in Syria and Palestine with a vividness lacking to the common consciousness in Western Protestant lands at the present time. Rain, in the Holy Land, not only falls on the just and the unjust, but the just and the unjust unite in believing that God sends it. Such belief is more than a religious tradition: it is actual, potent. "Inshallah" ("If God will") is often uttered merely as the equivalent of "I hope so," but the stereotyped use of the phrase has not usurped its real meaning. The language of daily life is permeated with similar religious phrases. Sometimes a gesture suffices. While writing this book, I questioned a statement made by an Egyptian peddler at a summer resort in the United States. Instantly his fat, jolly face became solemn. Not a word he uttered; he only pointed upward. God was there, and ready to witness. Owing to this paramount instinct of religion, as well as to other conditions that will presently appear, a Syrian is always labelled with the tag of the particular faith which he follows. Asking the details of a murder, you may receive the answer: "A Moslem killed a Jew" or "A Christian shot a Druse." You are likely to describe your servants, for example, as "Two Orthodox, one Maronite, and a Greek Catholic." How common is this form of category may be illustrated by the question a person may ask when wishing to know the composition of a tasty dish or of any inanimate object. "Shu dînu?" he says in colloquial Arabic, "What is its religion?"

All Syrians of whatever faith have a knowledge of the outward forms of their religion, which is rare among the laity of the United States. In the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout may be found followers of nearly all the faiths mentioned in this work. The information in regard to the

details of belief and practise which I obtained from undergraduates usually stood the test when later I sought for verification from other sources. These, it may be objected, were picked men. Listen, then, to the following tale. Some years ago my father stopped for lunch by a fountain in northern Syria, and had this conversation with a shepherd lad who held his horse:

"What is your religion?" was the lad's first question.

"I will not tell you directly," answered my father, "but I will answer any questions you ask about it."

"Do you believe in God?" said the lad.

"Yes," said my father.

"Then you are not a heathen," said the boy. "Do you believe in Christ?"

"I do."

"Then you are a Christian. What sect do you belong to?"

"I won't tell you that yet," was the answer. "Go on asking me questions."

The lad paused, looked puzzled, suddenly brightened, and then said:

"Do you believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son or from the Father alone?"

Recalling the ancient theological formula of the West, my father said that his church believed in the procession from the Father and the Son.

"Then you are a Maronite!" said the boy triumphantly. The Maronites, it may be added, differ from the Greek Church in accepting the Western formula, with which Protestant theology is in accord. What explanation my father made does not concern us here. The point for us is that this Syrian peasant, barefoot, unlettered, untravelled, had it on the tip of his tongue to name the controversy that had split the church universal eight hundred years before.

This is not the place even to enumerate the reasons why the conception of God is more vivid and more all-pervading among Oriental peoples than it is in the West, but in justice to ourselves a few words may be added in partial explanation of the difference. There has been no more important mo-

ment in the history of religion than when the great Hebrew prophets unveiled the truth that as far as He is related to human life God is pre-eminently a God of righteousness. Since the time of that vision, for all who have true spiritual apprehension, religion without morality has been inconceivable. This union of religion and morality has continued to be the ideal of Judaism, and since their inception has been also the ideal of Christianity and in a lesser degree the ideal of Islam. But in the actual practice of these three religions the ideal has suffered change. In Islam and in Eastern Christianity this conception of the vital relation between morality and religion is far from clear at the present time. In Western Christianity the ideal, which had grown dim, was rekindled by the Reformation. Since then it has governed the Protestant world. Freedom from superstition, however, was bought with a price. Personal religion has been enormously benefited, but, in the very process of purifying the individual conception, what may be called the common consciousness of God has suffered loss. The strict Puritan theory, logically carried out, tends to the following position: If man's relation to God must of necessity include an acknowledged desire to fulfil all moral obligations, it follows that those who deliberately stifle conscience end in having no personal relation to Divine Providence. Shut out from their moral world, God is shut out from their entire cosmos. Protestantism tends to divide the sheep from the goats in this world. To the unethical man it offers no religious consolation; it expects from him, remaining unethical, no religious duties. That the converse is practically true in the Eastern church and in Islam explains both the strength and weakness of these cults. For the "unconverted" Protestant, then, religion is in eclipse. Such a condition reacts on the "converted." Living in a world where by the majority God is disregarded as a vital factor of the common life of work and play, they are subtly affected by the enveloping atmosphere. Their own relation to God, being private and individual rather than objective, is definitely realized only in moments of direct spiritual communion. These moments naturally form the exception, not

the rule, of their daily life, for we are speaking of average Christians, not of the saints. Providence in all of its common manifestations is largely relegated to the realm of the theoretic. Intellectually, the idea is accepted and, if questioned, would be stoutly defended; but as a matter of experience it is imperfectly vitalized.

That such a tendency exists in Protestant Christendom cannot be gainsaid. That historically it had its inception in a nobler conception of God than had hitherto prevailed we have already indicated. That it is far less widely operative among the simple people than among the intellectual is true. That it has been nourished by many other influences is probable. But that it has been incidental rather than necessary to the development of the nobler conception may be confidently asserted. What we need is a synthesis of the ideas of the Orient and of the Occident. If ever the East and the West consent to learn the best from each other, the Oriental conception of God will become purer, more ethical, more effective, while the Western conception will grow more vivid, will touch the common life of the religious man at a thousand new points, and will appear as a vital force to those whom now it influences not at all.

I. Development of the Cults

When on the day of Pentecost the Apostles were inflamed with the purpose of preaching the new religion, later called Christianity, they did not foresee that this was to take root and to flourish chiefly among the Gentiles or heathen. In the beginning their message was delivered exclusively to the Jews. At that time the population of Syria was between six and seven millions of souls, of whom about one million were Jews. In Palestine where the population was less, the Jews numbered about seven hundred thousand.[1] The earliest Christian church of Jerusalem, thus, was Jewish. But as a practical result of the great revelation of the universal

[1] Professor Harnack is authority for these numbers. This section is further indebted to his "Expansion of Christianity," vol. XIX of "The Theological Translation Library" (New York, 1904).

character of Christianity, vouchsafed first to Peter and then to Paul, the gospel was soon preached to the Gentiles also. With Peter the idea of fellowship with the Gentiles who had become Christians was largely theoretic. His failure to put it into practice at Antioch brought him into sharp collision with Paul. For with Paul the idea had become vital, paramount, controlling. It altered his whole career. He was pre-eminently the Apostle to the Gentiles. And Paul, historically speaking, laid the foundations of Christian empire. The Jewish converts counted for little or nothing in the subsequent history of the church. Numerically they were always weak. The mother church of Jerusalem disappeared completely when Hadrian prohibited all circumcised persons from entering the town of Aelia Capitolina, which he had built on the ruined site of the Holy City sixty years after its destruction by Titus. In the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign, the Bishop of Jerusalem was one Marcus, a Greek Gentile. From him the present Greek patriarch claims ecclesiastical succession in unbroken chain. In the second century a large part of the Jewish church became Hellenized and was merged in the main body of Christendom. So alienated did the unimportant remnant grow that about the year 180 A. D. the Catholic Church branded Christian Jews as heretics. In the course of the ages the Jewish population of Palestine almost disappeared. It is quite possible that the remote ancestors of the eighty thousand Jews[1] now resident in the Holy Land proper were numbered among the Jews of Palestine in the time of Paul, but in the majority of cases their immediate progenitors came from Spain, Russia, Poland, Roumania, or Arabia. The sixty thousand Jews, however, at present dwelling in Syria, at Damascus, Aleppo, and in other places are, in all but religion, native Syrians, following the customs, sharing the superstitions, and speaking the native Arabic language of the land. It is not improbable that the ancestors of many

[1] It may be acknowledged at once that all statements as to the numbers of any given sect in Syria and Palestine are, at best, only approximate, and often mere guesswork. The total population is probably between three and three and one-half million.

of these have lived in Syria continuously since the time of the Diaspora.

For the ancestors of the various Christian peoples now living in Syria and Palestine we must look, then, in the main, to the Gentiles or heathen to whom Paul and his fellow-missionaries preached. Though divided into many bodies, the modern Christians may be roughly classed together, but at the time when Christianity was first preached the heathenism of Syria and Palestine was in no sense a unit. In the cities the Greek forms of worship prevailed; in the country the local cults were followed. Some of these had survived from the earliest days, having never been stamped out by Judaism. Others were of later origin. Especially in Syria there had been developed what may be called synthetic or eclectic cults, by grafting borrowed ideas on the local religions. Against the gospel propaganda, which flourished in an extraordinary manner, notwithstanding the fierce government persecutions, all the old religions made stout resistance. Even after the Emperor Constantine recognized Christianity officially, the proud cities of Ascalon and Gaza were strongly pagan. While the coast towns of Phœnicia were nominally Christian, inland places continued to be homogeneously heathen. "Pagan" (rural) and "heathen" became synonymous terms. During the pagan reaction under Julian, called "the Apostate," Christians were savagely tortured in the centres of the old cults. The edicts of Theodosius, the last of which was issued in 390, closed the temples, confiscated the religious property, and abolished the privileges of heathen priests. Then, indeed, paganism crumbled away. Gibbon speaks of the phenomenon as "the only example of the total extinction of any ancient and popular superstition." "The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the imperial laws," so he goes on, "was attracted within the pale of the Catholic Church, and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of paganism, that only twenty years after the death of Theodosius the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eyes of the legislator."[1]

[1] "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. XXVIII.

A foot-note to this passage states that the younger Theodosius was afterward satisfied that his judgment was somewhat premature. He did well to look deeper. Vestiges there are to-day of the old cults, and neither faint nor minute, though fifteen hundred years have passed away since the edicts of Theodosius the Elder. As an organism, paganism indeed crumbled, but its soul continued to hover over the Holy Land. There is no religion after the Order of Melchizedek, without father, without mother, without descent. In its localized worship of saints and martyrs Christianity had an immediate legacy from Polytheism, with its god for every place and its god for every need. This legacy was later shared by Islam. The Cult of the Shrines, common to-day to Moslems, Christians, and Jews, is essentially the old Cult of the High Places. In monasteries where the Christians vow to Elijah or to Saint George, there the Moslems vow to the mysterious Khudr, the Ever Green or Ever Living One, whom they identify with both. At the Moslem Shrines of the Khudr Christians invoke Saint George. At Jobar, near Damascus, the Arabic-speaking Jews pay vows at the Shrine of Elijah, whom they too call Khudr, and take part in a nature dance, the men separately from the women.[1] Persistence of some of the details of heathen worship among the fastnesses of the mountains north of the Lebanon doubtless accounts for some of the elements still found in the religions of the Nuseirîyeh and of the Isma'ilîyeh. The survival of the spirit of paganism around the roots of Mount Hermon may explain the ready acceptance by the inhabitants of the strange doctrines of the Druses, brought to

[1] The late Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss, whose latest note-books I have had the privilege of studying (see Preface), is authority for this statement. He also gives examples of the contradictory stories related of Khudr. Some Moslems accept the double identification with Elijah and Saint George. Some accept the first but not the second. Others claim that Elijah and the Khudr were different persons. Baldensperger (see his article, "Orders of Holy Men in Palestine," "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," 1894, p. 25) gives a prayer used at a Dervish initiation in which Elias (Elijah) and Khudr are called brothers.

them from Persia by way of Egypt early in the eleventh century. Traces of old sacrificial ideas may still be found in the colloquial Arabic phrases. Once, when camping under the ancient cedars of the Lebanon, my father was taken ill. His recovery was rapid, but the next day my beautiful horse fell sick and died, notwithstanding the care of the faithful Christian muleteers. "Fedâhu!" "It is his redemption!" they said, regretting the loss of the horse but rejoicing in my father's recovery.

Christianity in Syria and Palestine developed along two parallel lines, following two parallel lines of civilization: Hellenic in the cities, Syrian in the country. The new religion took root in both zones of civilization and was colored by each type. Thus two types of churches arose: the Hellenic, using in their services the Greek language, and the Syrian, using the Syriac or Aramaic. In Palestine the Greek type was represented almost exclusively, though in a few churches services were conducted in both languages. In Syria the two types operated, but from different centres. In course of time Antioch came to be the head-quarters of the Greek type and far-away Edessa the head-quarters of the Syrian type. The line of cleavage between the zones was not definite. Undoubtedly, in the Greek zone of influence, especially in the villages out of touch with the great cities, there were congregations that long continued to follow the Syrian type of worship, conducted in their own Syrian language. The two types have survived to the present day, the Greek type being represented by the Greek Orthodox, and the Greek Catholic Melchites, who split off from the Orthodox as late as 1724. The Syrian type is represented by the Syrian Jacobites, by the Syrian Catholics (a comparatively modern body), and by the Maronites, who constitute the National Church of the Lebanon. The term Melchite, readopted by that branch of the Greek Church which accepted the allegiance of Rome, is charged with the memories of a storm that came near to wrecking Catholicism in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Orthodoxy in those days was maintained by imperial power. Christians in Syria who clung to the heresies relating to the person of Christ con-

demned by the Council of Ephesus (431), by the Council of Chalcedon (451), and the Third Council of Constantinople, (680) came to be known as Mardaites or Rebels. In turn they applied the nickname Melchites to those who bowed to the imperial will in matters of belief. Melchites, then, signified Royalists or King's Men. In Syria the Monophysite heresy took deep root among those who followed the Syrian forms of worship. It seems never to have infected the churches of Palestine.[1] The first definite split with the Catholic Church in Syria was effected by the monk James, or Jacobus Baradaeus, who died in the year 578. Such of the Syrian clergy as held Monophysite views he organized into a regular hierarchy, with their own Patriarch of Antioch. Members of the new organization came to be known as Jacobites. The seat of the patriarch was later transferred to Mesopotamia, where it still is. At one time the Syrian churches, including the Nestorian (which does not fall within the pale of our discussion), threatened to outrank the Orthodox body, but after the eleventh century their decline was assured. The Jacobite communion to-day plays no important rôle among the Christian churches of Syria, though it continues to be a power in Mesopotamia. Even there, however, the portion that has seceded to Rome, under the name of Syrian Catholics, threatens to overshadow the old Syrian communion.

Far more germane to our present discussion is the origin of the Lebanon Maronites, who to-day form the largest and most compact Christian body in Syria. The form of heresy which these warlike inhabitants of the Lebanon finally entertained was really the invention of that imperial opportunist of the seventh century, the Emperor Heraclius. As a compromise between Orthodoxy and Monophysitism, he proposed to substitute a doctrine that came to be known as Monothelitism.[2] This was condemned at the Third Council of Constantinople (680), but the Syrians of Lebanon indignantly refused to give up the doctrine, imperial in inception,

[1] To this day no native church flourishes in Palestine proper but the Orthodox, though others are represented.

[2] See foot-note on p. 35.

but now imperially repudiated, and thereby earned a fresh title to the name Mardaites or Rebels, in which they gloried. In 685, five years after the council, they organized themselves into a separate body, electing as their patriarch one John Maro. The Maronites of to-day, however, derive their name from an alleged Saint Marûn, who is supposed to have established a monastery at the source of the Orontes in the fifth century, gathering about him three hundred and fifty monks. Originally a Syrian church in language and in ritual, the Maronite body underwent little alteration even after its submission to the authority of Rome in 1182. Its tendency to conform to Roman practice dates from comparatively modern times. When in the next chapter we follow the fortunes of the Maronites more closely, we shall note that they claim to have always formed a part of the Roman Catholic Church, stoutly denying all charges of former heresy.

It is clear, thus, that from the earliest times to the present day the liturgical language of the Jacobites and Maronites has been Syriac. The Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholics, the modern representatives of the old Melchites, have long used the Byzantine liturgies and other Greek forms of service, though at the present day Arabic translations of all these are used in the Syrian churches.[1] The Byzantine liturgies of Saint Chrysostom and Saint Basil, now universally used in the Orthodox Church in all lands, date from the eighth century. Just when these were adopted by the Orthodox Churches of Syria is not known, though they probably were in use by the end of the twelfth century. It is quite conceivable that before that time considerable latitude was allowed among the Melchites in the use of the liturgies. We have seen that purely Greek types of worship characterized the Syrian towns, but in country districts such churches as remained loyal to the king's party probably continued to retain for some time their form of

[1] Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre in 1217, informs us that the Syrian Orthodox of his day used Greek services not understood of the people who spoke Arabic. See his "Historia Hierosolymitana," LXXIV, found in the "Gesta Dei per Francos," edition of Bongars.

worship, sometimes in the Syriac language, sometimes in Greek translation.[1]

While the church of the Byzantine Empire was being rent by the questions whether Christ had one nature or two natures, one will or two wills; while its subjects were ranging themselves either as King's Men or Rebels; while, in the passion for correct thinking about Christ, the idea of right living in the name and after the example of the meek and lowly Jesus was fast disappearing, in far-away Arabia a great religious genius was burning with the passion to make known, by persuasion or by force, the simple truth that God is One. In the spiritual lifelessness and the doctrinal divisions of Christianity lay the opportunity of Islam. Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medinah with a few faithful followers dates the beginning of the Moslem era at 622. Ten years later, Islam, by the power of tongue and of sword, had conquered Arabia, and under Khaled, the Sword of God, was attempting the conquest of Palestine. It was a holy war. Empire was sought over men's souls as well as over men's bodies. The leaders of the movement, 'Omar, Khaled, Abu 'Obeidah, were men of great faith. It was with much the same purpose, according to the Hebrew narrative, and with much the same methods of war that Caleb and Joshua had led the forces of Israel over the same ground two thousand years before. Bosrah, "on the other side of the Jordan," was the first town to fall, betrayed by its governor, who publicly accepted the religion of his conquerors with the declaration: "I choose Allah for my God, Islam for my Faith, Mecca for my Temple." Six years after this first victory, the whole of Syria and Palestine had come under the Moslem sway. And under this sway, save for the brief period of crusading rule, these lands have remained for thirteen centuries. No previous domination of which we have any clear chronological account—Jewish, Persian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine—has lasted as long. The de-

[1] For a discussion of this question see Lammens, in "Al Machriq" (published at the Jesuit Press at Beyrout), March 15, 1900. Also R. P. Vailhé in the "Echos d'Orient," tome VI (1903), p. 143.

scendants of Khaled are prominent in the life of Jerusalem to-day. Among them I have counted as friends men of noble character and keen wit. To the tomb of Khaled at Ḥums still flock thousands at one of the great local festivals of the year.

When the Moslem conquest of Syria and Palestine began, the population was nominally Christian. To-day the Christians number less than half as many as the Moslems. The conquerors offered to the inhabitants the choice of acceptance of Islam, tribute, or death. Great numbers of the Christians were killed in actual battle. In the fierce fight on the plain between Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrîn) and Ramleh, fifty thousand Christians are said to have perished. The Christians of to-day are descendants of those who chose to pay tribute to conquerors. The continued survival of so great a number through all the subsequent persecutions testifies to a vitality of the faith which all the dry-rot of theological speculation has never destroyed. As to the ancestry of the present followers of Islam only a guess can be made. The greater number must be descendants of such Christians as accepted the faith of the conquerors.[1] These probably included many whose Christian belief was hardly more than a veneer over a never-eradicated Pagan basis. Following many of the immemorial religious customs, keeping the old feasts under other names, worshipping at the old shrines, a change of allegiance from Christianity to Islam made little difference to them. This, however, is merely conjecture. Certain it is that the great noble Moslem families to-day trace their pedigree to Arabia, through the early heroes of Islam. Many Moslems of the humbler class are doubtless the descendants of the common soldiers of the Arab army, who formed alliances with the Syrian women. It would be a task, both interesting and fruitful, to go through the historical records in search of such chance clews as would throw more light on the obscure question of the ethnic relations of the present inhabitants of Syria and Palestine.

[1] Dr. Harvey Porter, professor of history in the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout, states that from his general reading he has formed the impression that about one-half the population became Moslems at the time of ‘Omar.

Through the victory of Islam, organic Christianity in these lands received a terrible set-back, from which it has never recovered. Bright spots, however, illuminate the dark picture of the conquest. According to the view of Gibbon, the toleration prevailing at Damascus through the gentler counsels of Abu ʻObeidah accounts for the present large Christian population. The superb arrogance of Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, after the Holy City had been besieged four months by Abu ʻObeidah, refused to make terms with any one but the Caliph ʻOmar himself (forced to travel from Arabia for the purpose), secured for the Christians of the city a Covenant or Bill of Rights which has been ratified by all the subsequent Moslem dynasties. Writing three and a half centuries later the Moslem historian Muqaddasi ("the Jerusalemite") complains that in his native city "everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand." To this day the relations between Moslems and Christians in Jerusalem are more harmonious than in other towns of the same size. When there resident I used to patronize a barber's shop where a Christian and a Mohammedan worked in partnership.

After the death of Sophronius, however, no patriarch was resident in the Holy City for sixty years. The See of Antioch was vacant for over a century, though the line was kept up by a Patriarch of Antioch, resident at Constantinople. Everywhere Christian churches were converted into mosques. The speech of the conquerors came to be the speech of the conquered. The Syriac language fled into the mountain recesses. The only traces of it to-day are found in three small villages, Maʻlula, Bukhʻa, and Jebʻadîn, in the hill ranges, north-east of Damascus, where a hybrid Aramaic, strongly impregnated with Arabic forms and words, is still spoken, though it is never written.

Even while, with an apparently unbroken front, the Moslems were invading Syria and Palestine, the seeds of discord, planted at the death of Mohammed, were preparing to germinate in the soil of Islam. The story of the schism which resulted in the main division of the Moslem world into Sunnis and Shiʻahs will be sketched in a later chapter. It is touched on here simply that we may understand, at the be-

ginning of our study, why there exist to-day in Syria two distinct bodies of Mohammedans, bitterly antagonistic, the one toward the other. The Syrian Shi'ahs go by the local name of Metawileh, Moreover, in consequence of this schism were later developed the secret religions whose followers to-day inhabit the Lebanon and the mountains to the north, being known under the name of Druses, Nuseirîyeh, and Isma'ilîyeh.

Schism in Islam was originally caused by the question of the Caliphate, or the succession to Mohammed. One party rallied around Abu Bekr, the prophet's father-in-law, and the other around 'Ali, his nephew and the husband of his favorite daughter, Fatima. At first the party of Abu Bekr prevailed, and succeeded in electing not only him but the two succeeding caliphs, 'Omar and 'Othman. 'Ali, indeed, became the fourth caliph, twenty-three years after the death of Mohammed, but the revolt of the contrary party provoked a long and bloody conflict. 'Ali was killed. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ḥasan, who soon abdicated in favor of Mo'awiyah, the candidate of the other party, and founder of the 'Omayyad Dynasty of Caliphs. In the conflict that continued to rage, Ḥosein, the brother of Hasan, was killed on the field of Kerbela, which ever since has been sacred ground to the Shi'ahs or partisans of the family of 'Ali. The split then became final. The Sunnis—the so-called Traditionalists—and the Shi'ahs, thus, agree on two caliphs only: 'Ali and Ḥasan. With the Shi'ahs the term Imamate takes the place of the Sunni term Caliphate. The main body of Shi'ahs believe in a hereditary line of twelve Imams. The first was 'Ali, the last was the child of Ḥasan-el-'Askari, Mohammed, who disappeared from sight in 878, but who is still supposed to be living in the world in a disguise which is revealed only by exception.

But among the Shi'ahs themselves was produced a schism by this very question of the Imamate. On the death of this sixth imam, Ja'afar-es-Sâdiq, one party recognized as imam his second son, Mûsa-el-Qasim, while the other turned to Mohammed-el-Ḥabib, the son of Ja'afar's eldest son, Isma'îl, who had predeceased his father. Hence arose the

sect of the Isma'ilîyeh, whose esoteric doctrines were destined to wield such baneful influences. From this sect was derived the Order of the Assassins, which filled Europe with terror at the time of the Crusades. From his castle fortress north of the mountains of Lebanon, Râshîd-ed-Dîn Sinân, Grand Prior of the order for Syria, known to the Crusaders as the Old Man of the Mountains,[1] sent forth his white-robed emissaries to plunge a secret dagger into the heart of any prince who had incurred his anger. Under their generic name of Isma'ilîyeh the descendants of these Assassins still live to the number of ten or twenty thousand near their old Syrian haunts, sending from thence a yearly tribute to Bombay, where lives the successor of the Old Man of the Mountains.

The sect known as Druses separated from the main body of the Isma'ilîyeh about the same time as the Assassins. Both sects thus resulted from a triple schism in Islam. The Fatimite Dynasty of Caliphs or Imams was founded by the Shi'ahs of Egypt in the year 969 A. D. These rulers held themselves to be incarnations of the Divine Reason. One Darazi, a leading missionary of the Bâtini section of the Isma'ilîyeh, encouraged in his pretensions to divinity the third caliph known as El-Ḥâkim, who began to rule in 985. This extraordinary person appears to have been a mixture of monster and buffoon. One fancies that both Dickens and Stevenson must have been reading Gibbon when they invented Quilp and Captain Teach. Certainly his mad pranks can be paralleled only in fiction.[2] It is from Darazi that the ordinary name of the Druses is derived.[3] According to a disputed tradition he preached the divinity of the mad caliph to the inhabitants of the Wady-et-Teim at the foot of Mount Hermon. At any rate this place was

[1] This title was rightly the prerogative of the Grand Master of the order living at Alamût, in the mountains of Persia, but it seems to have been assumed by Sinân, who aimed to rival his superior.

[2] For his strange career, see chap. LVII of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

[3] In Arabic "Durzi" signifies one; "Druz," two or more members of this sect.

the cradle of the Druse cult in Syria. It is quite possible that the inhabitants were already indoctrinated with the peculiar vagaries of the Isma'ilîyeh, which were wide-spread. This would account for their readiness to swallow the latest developments. The Druses, however, who acknowledge no name but that of Unitarians, execrate the memory of Darazi as heartily as they revere the name of Ḥamzeh, another missionary of the Isma'ilîyeh, who became influential with El-Ḥâkim, and whom they claim to be the author of most of the one hundred and eleven treatises contained in the six volumes that enshrine their secret doctrines. There are about one hundred and fifty thousand Druses to-day, mostly grouped in the southern part of the Lebanon, and also in the Ḥaurân, where they are in frequent feud with the Arab tribes and in frequent revolt against the Turkish authorities. A recent rebellion was "crushed" in the spring of 1911.

The Nuseirîyeh in the mountains north of the Lebanon, though strongly impregnated with the doctrine of the Isma'ilîyeh, claim to believe in the twelve imams of the main body of the Shi'ahs. According to some estimates they outnumber the Druses; other guesses would make them a smaller body. Members of all these secret religions claim to be Moslems when it suits their convenience, and repudiate this allegiance with equal ease. In this they are following a tenet of conformity shared by all Shi'ahs and explicitly emphasized by the Ismailian teaching.

We have now accounted for the origin of the main cults to-day found in Syria and Palestine. The Samaritans, indeed, probably represent a longer unbroken religious tradition, still followed at the centre of worship, than does any other cult, but they are now reduced to a mere handful—a hundred plus or minus. The Behâis, or Babis, represent the very last schism of the oft-split Shi'ahs. 'Abbâs Effendi, their head, now dwells at Acre with a few Persian followers. But the Behâis have never sought to extend their cult by propaganda in Syria, which they entered merely as exiles. The main body of Behâis is still in Persia, where the Bâb,

or Door, held to be the forerunner of Beha Allah, was martyred in 1852, though they claim that their converts in the United States and elsewhere are very numerous. It may be noticed in passing that 'Abbâs Effendi, while preaching the divinity of his late father, Beha Allah (who died at Acre in 1892), has now definitely repudiated the doctrine as persistently applied to himself by many of his followers all over the world "'Abdul Beha," he says, referring to himself, "is the servant of the word of the Blessed Beauty [*i. e.*, Beha Allah] and the manifestation of absolute servitude in the threshold of the Lord. He has no other station, grade, class, or power. The great Manifestation was fulfilled and consummated in the Blessed Beauty of Abha, and his Holiness the Supreme (the great Bâb) was the Herald of the Blessed Beauty."[1]

It is with reluctance that we omit all but the briefest reference to that most dramatic episode in the religious history of the Holy Land, the domination of the Crusaders. This, however, had very little influence on the subsequent religious life of the land, which is our thesis. Probably a certain portion of the native Latins or Roman Catholics, now resident in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, descend from the Pullani (fellaḥîn), or offspring of the Crusaders by the native women; though it is definitely known that the ancestors of many of the present Latins were once Maronites. The lasting influence of the Crusaders was social rather than religious, as they introduced into the Holy Land those feudal ideas that controlled the life of the Lebanon until the year 1860.[2]

As it has been a political tradition, now happily on the wane, after a change of party in our National Government, to make a clean sweep in all public offices, so when the Crusaders superseded the Saracens the ecclesiastical positions held by the Greek Christians, under the supervision of their Mohammedan masters, were filled by Latins. Each party regarded the other with contempt. Jacques de Vitry, consecrated Latin Bishop of Tyre in 1217, calls the Syrian

[1] See "The Behai Bulletin" (New York), December, 1908.
[2] See pp. 104–108.

Orthodox "double dealers, cunning foxes, liars, turn-coats, traitors, open to bribes, deceivers, thieves, and robbers."[1] But there was no real break in the Greek hierarchy. Greek patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch kept up the ancient lines at Constantinople, and sometimes even attempted to reside quietly in their sees. The last Latin Patriarch of Antioch was killed at the altar by the Saracens in 1268. We gather from Jacques de Vitry that the Greek bishops continued in their own dioceses to wield actual, if unofficial, power over their people. "As for the Latin prelates," he writes, "in whose dioceses they dwell, they obey them in word but not in deed; and only in outward show they say that they obey them, out of fear of their masters according to the flesh, for they have Greek bishops of their own and would not fear excommunication or any other sentence from the Latins in the least . . . for they say among themselves that all Latins are excommunicated, wherefore they cannot give sentence on any one."[2] No wonder that the worried bishop felt sore and called names.

When the Crusaders lost their final foothold in Syria in the year 1292, all members of the Greek hierarchy had slipped back into their places. Since then the ecclesiastical changes have been chiefly those of allegiance. The Maronites had abjured heresy and had joined themselves to the Roman Church in 1182. In consequence of persistent missionary effort, in connection with the Roman Propaganda, the Greek Catholic Melchite Community was formed, the definite split with the Orthodox dating from 1724. The Syrian Catholics had separated from the Jacobites some time before. The ten thousand Protestants now numbered among the native Christians are due to the work among the old churches conducted by foreign societies, beginning with the American Board in 1821.

[1] "Historia Hierosolymitana," *op. cit.*, LXXIV. This quotation is from the English translation in vol. XI of the "Palestine Pilgrims' Text Series."

[2] *Ibid.*

II. Inter-Relations of the Cults

The inter-relations of the cults in Syria and Palestine can be better understood after the relation of each to the Turkish Government is made clear. When, in 1453, the first Ottoman sultan, Maḥmûd II, mounted the throne of his Byzantine predecessors, he was made to realize that the Shari'a, or Sacred Law of Islam, which makes no distinction between matters civil and religious, could not from the very nature of things be applied in all its bearings to the large numbers of his conquered subjects who were Christians.[1] The Shari'a implies duties and privileges which only the followers of the Prophet can observe and enjoy. Moslem legislation respecting marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc., could not be adapted to the circumstances of Christians. The Sultan Maḥmûd had forced upon him the alternative of creating an especial code or of permitting these peoples to follow their own regulations. The latter alternative was chosen. In all cases where they could not be treated on the same legal footing with the Moslems, Christians were in the eye of the law separated into groups, according to the religions which they professed. At first, the Moslem authorities, not comprehending the theological distinctions that kept the churches apart, or the differences in their rites, confounded all Christians together as Greek Orthodox or Roum. Little by little, however, as these distinctions came to be recognized, separate communities were formed. Each group became a *millet* or nation, really a state within a state. A man was labelled by his religion. This arrangement was solemnly confirmed by a *berat*, or firman, granted to each patriarch or accredited head of the community. By virtue of these firmans the heads of sects or nations are still regarded not only as religious but as civil authorities. At the episcopal courts certain civil as well as religious cases are tried. The Greek Orthodox first obtained and have always enjoyed more extended

[1] The authority on this subject, whom we closely follow, is the Count van den Steen de Jehay, in his careful work, "De la Situation Légale des Sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans" (Bruxelles, 1906).

privileges than any other community. The last of the firmans was issued in favor of the Jews in 1864, recognizing their right to be represented at the Sublime Porte by the Grand Rabbi. The Protestants were organized as a distinct body, under a *wakîl*, or agent, resident at Constantinople, by virtue of two firmans dated 1850 and 1853, respectively. Alone of the Christian churches the Maronites have no actual firman. The fact that ever since 1516 they have enjoyed all the privileges of a "nation," recognized by the sultans, is considered to be sufficient. Precedent takes the place of formal authorization.

Much stress is laid by Western students of religious affairs in Turkey on one feature of the Tanzimât, or Corpus of Reforms, provoked by the Great Powers, beginning with the famous Hatti Sherîf of Gulhané, 1839, and culminating in the Hatti Houmayûn of 1856. This latter is often called the Magna Charta of religious liberties in Turkey, having been regarded, at its issue, to be a guarantee of full religious liberty to all Turkish subjects of any creed or faith. The Count de Jehay, however, points out that it is a mistake to think that the Tanzimât had fundamentally the aim of extending the privileges which had been granted to the Christian communities. Indeed, the very principles of equality for all Turkish subjects before the law, which they advocated, logically entailed the curtailing of certain especial privileges, not strictly involving religious questions, which had been long enjoyed by the Greeks. Among other rights the Patriarch of Constantinople had full power to condemn those under him to exile, to send them to prison, to levy taxes without government interference. But that was not all. He could actually demand the assistance of government officials in carrying out his desires by force. In the broad interests of justice the Hatti Houmayûn ordained that each Christian or non-Mussulman community should have its immunities re-examined by a commission appointed in its midst. The status of the Greek community was thus readjusted on a basis which in general still controls it. In 1879, however, the Porte made another attempt to curtail the privileges of the Greek Orthodox. The hierarchy stoutly resisted. Two

patriarchs resigned, in 1884 and 1890 respectively. At one time, the patriarchal throne being vacant, the Holy Synod of Constantinople requested all Greek churches within the empire to close their doors and suspend services, as a demonstration against the government. This religious strike lasted for a month. In 1891 a *modus vivendi* was agreed on. The patriarch is now allowed jurisdiction in matters relating to marriage, divorce, and, with certain restrictions, to inheritance. No priest can be arrested by the government except through the patriarch or bishop, who acts as intermediary. A priest cannot be put in the common prison unless he has been unfrocked, after having been convicted of actual crime.

At the time of the Moslem conquest it was ordained that Christians should be excluded from the army, but in lieu of military service each male was obliged to pay a poll-tax. Theoretically, this system was abolished by the Hatti Houmayûn, which arranged for drafting Christian soldiers. This change, however, was not carried into effect until after the revolution of 1908. In the meantime the poll-tax continued to be paid, though a certain change was made in the manner of imposing it. On the march to Constantinople in the spring of 1909, when the counter-revolution of 'Abd-el-Ḥamid was crushed, for the first time Turkish generals led a mixed army of Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Since then soldiers have been regularly drafted irrespective of creed, though this radical change is being introduced with some caution. The newly created parliament is open to members of all faiths, but naturally Moslems greatly preponderate.

The Hatti Houmayûn granted some leeway to members of the same non-Moslem community concerning the matters which may be brought before the especial tribunals. To a certain extent, thus, recourse to these constitutes a right rather than an obligation. For example, should two members of the Greek Orthodox Church be about to go to law concerning some minor matters not explicitly declared to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the patriarch, and should they have some reason for avoiding the ecclesiastical courts, the tribunals of the empire are open to them. In all criminal cases,

of course, these government courts have sole jurisdiction. Also before them alone are tried cases between a Moslem and a non-Moslem, or between non-Moslems of different religious communities.

For about four centuries after the Mohammedan conquest the Turkish courts followed but one procedure, that of the Shari'a, or Sacred Law. During the reign of 'Abd-el-Mejîd, side by side with these courts were established a set of tribunals, criminal, civil, and commercial, under the general name of 'Adlîyeh, or Courts of Justice, all closely following the Code Napoleon. The development of his new system appears to have been slow, but it was firmly established in Jerusalem, for example, about forty years ago. These tribunals have no jurisdiction over matters pertaining to wills and minors, which must be taken before the Shari'a court. In other matters the accused may choose before which court he may be tried. As a matter of fact, in many places the business of the Shari'a courts is limited to Moslem religious affairs. Moslems, of course, try their best to have their cases with Christians tried according to their sacred law. The proclamation of the Sultan 'Abd-el-Ḣamîd, in his last desperate struggle to recover his lost power, contained this phrase, intended, under cover of its non-committal diction, to inflame Moslem fanaticism: "The Shari'a is to be honored!"

The Qâdhi, or Moslem religious judge, has authority over both the Shari'a and the 'Adlîyeh tribunals, except the criminal court of the latter. The heads of the 'Adlîyeh tribunals must always be Moslems, but the judges may be half Moslems and half Christians. In Jerusalem, where this proportion exists, the head-quarters of the 'Adlîyeh are at the Serâya, or Government House, and those of the Shari'a are at the old Maḣkamy, or Place of Judgment, near the Temple Court.

The widely circulated statement that the testimony of a Christian as against a Moslem is not valid in Moslem law is literally true. It, however, creates a false impression. "Testimony" is "shehadi," and no Christian can bear shehadi against a Moslem. But shehadi is a technical term

applying merely to witness borne in or referred to the Shari'a courts. In an 'Adlîyeh tribunal any one, irrespective of creed, can give "akhbar" or "information," which is, to all intents and results, witness or testimony. In the large centres of Syria and Palestine, a Christian is thus under no legal embarrassment in the matter of testimony, save as he is obliged to enter the Shari'a courts, if his litigation involves minors, or some one of a few other questions in which it has sole jurisdiction. Practically, however, there are many ways in which a Christian who has no backing, can be embarrassed in this as well as in other regards.

It is clear that such divisions as exist among the cults of Syria and Palestine must be accentuated by the official groupings which have just been reviewed. This holds true not only of the main divisions into Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Druses, and Nuseirîyeh, but of the subdivisions as well. The relations of a man to his sect being not only religious but secular, he is never allowed to forget that he is Maronite, Greek, Jacobite, or Protestant. The distinction of religion is a controlling force in political life. The Lebanon, for example, is divided into districts, each governed by a *qaimaqâm,* who belongs to that sect which predominates numerically. Thus, in Zahleh the *qaimaqâm* must be a Greek Catholic; in the Kûra, Greek Orthodox; in the Shûf, a Druse; in the Kesrouan, a Maronite. The other districts are ruled by Druses or Maronites according to the same law. A similar law has regulated exactly the proportion of minor offices which each sect can claim, down to the very position of sweeper in the Government House!

The segregation of cults in villages, already touched upon, or in different quarters of the same town, fosters the sense of division which led to its adoption. One speaks of a Christian village or a Moslem village. Every casual traveller to Palestine, where such segregation appears to be the rule, must have noted that Bethany is Moslem while Bethlehem is Christian. Jerusalem has its Christian quarter, its Moslem quarter, its Jewish quarter. To a certain extent this system applies to the business section. On a

Saturday you may pass from a crowded street, where trade is brisk at all the little shops, to another street where all the doors are closed: one is the street of the saddlers, who are mostly Moslems, the other is devoted to general retail trade, now largely in the hands of the Jews. Even in "Christian Street" half the shops are closed on the Jewish "Sabbath."

The number of antagonisms among the cults of Syria and Palestine is bewildering. First we find Moslems ranged against each other: Orthodox Sunni bitterly hating Shi-'ah Metawali. Feuds between Nuseirîyeh and Isma'ilîyeh have been constant. Christians despise Jews. Strife between Druses and Christians (political rather than religious), which had blazed up in civil war in 1845 and 1860, resulted in the complete reconstruction of the Lebanon Government at the last-mentioned date. Since then the mutual relations have been peaceful. And finally, the Christian bodies are often in dispute among themselves. But before glancing at the painful details of these divisions, we may refer again to the common fund of superstitious beliefs in which all share. That some of these have been inherited from an ancient form of worship antedating them all has been already hinted. Christians, Moslems, Jews, and Nuseirîyeh visit each others' shrines. The Moslems take their insane, or "possessed," to get rid of their evil spirits in the cave of Saint Anthony, belonging to the Maronite convent of Qozhayya, in the Lebanon. Christians go on a similar errand to the well at the shrine of Sheikh Ḥasan er-Ra'i (the Shepherd) near Damascus. Dr. Curtiss reports instances of Christians who vow "sacrifices" to Moslem saints turning the head of the sheep toward Mecca while they kill it. During the procession on Good Friday, barren Moslem women pass under the cloth on which is stamped the figure of Christ, in hopes that they may bear children. Christian women in Ḥums consult Dervish diviners. The Nuseirîyeh observe Christmas, though they subordinate Jesus to 'Ali. A Greek priest told me of a Druse who recently had his child carried through the sanctuary of the Church of the Virgin in the Palm Sunday procession, that, through blessing received, he might not die as had all the

other children. Instances of Moslems seeking baptism for their children as a sort of charm have been reported from all parts of Syria and Palestine, from Es-Salt on the south to Ras-Ba'albek on the north. A Mohammedan of Zaḥleh has had all his children baptized, though the priest insists on a Christian god-father. At Jaffa a Moslem woman begged a Protestant missionary to baptize her sick baby. Learning that she had no idea of rearing it as a Christian, he refused, and she applied to the Greek priest. Dr. Curtiss heard of a Moslem's baptism where the priest performed the act with "maimed rites," omitting to use the consecrated oil of baptism. Baldensperger mentions secret baptisms among the fellaḥîn, and ascribes this desire to the belief of the Moslems that the rite destroys a certain odor, peculiar to themselves, which attracts ghosts![1] This falls in line with information I have received from Christians. Once, in speaking with a Maronite peasant about the frequent ablutions of the Moslems, I remarked on the fact that the Christians have no such ceremonies. "No," he replied, "the Moslems were never cleansed in baptism as we are, and are always trying to get rid of their natural evil odor by washing themselves all over, but without success. Thank God, I have had no need of a bath since I was baptized." It is hardly necessary to add that for this physical theory of baptism the Maronite Church cannot be held officially responsible.

The relations between Moslems and Christians varies in different centres of Syria and Palestine according to the ratio which they bear to each other. This ratio takes account of wealth and influence as well as of numbers. In places like Beyrout, where the Christians not only preponderate numerically, but control business, the Moslems tend to be antagonistic. In Damascus, on the other hand, the Moslems, who form the bulk of the well-to-do population, can afford to feel friendly toward their Christian neighbors. Moreover, they have never forgotten how Moslems were

[1] See article, "Birth, Marriage and Death among the Fellahin of Palestine," by P. J. Baldensperger, found in the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund" for 1894, p. 127.

hung in the streets for the massacre of Christians when fanaticism was aroused by the events of 1860. A foreign resident declared in my hearing that the Christians are overbearing toward the Moslems, who show a courteous demeanor. But even at best, between followers of the two religions there runs a sharp line of cleavage. The Moslems are ever conscious that theirs is the religion of the race that conquered Syria. The Christians can never forget that theirs is the faith that was conquered. On the one side are often found hatred, arrogance, and contempt; on the other, hatred, fear, and suspicion. The smouldering embers are liable to be fanned into flame by any sudden event. After months and years of apparently peaceful relations, the murder of a Moslem by a Christian or of a Christian by a Moslem may provoke a series of reprisals, which, if not checked by the government with a strong hand, contain the possibilities of massacre.

This fundamental antagonism between the two cults has proved to be not incompatible with real friendship between individual Moslems and Christians. It is a well-authenticated fact that during periods of massacre Moslems, at the risk of their own lives, have often sheltered their Christian neighbors. Good men of both religions honor and respect one another. Owing to the general march of civilization, Christians suffer much less from the Moslem domination in Syria than they did a hundred years ago. Then sumptuary laws were in force. As late as 1820 no Christian in Damascus could wear anything but black or could ride a horse.[1]

The lack of harmony between the various Christian sects is not only bad religion; it is bad policy. From any point of view it is lamentable. In face of the overwhelming strength of Islam it is sheer folly. In passing, one may be permitted to note that the same criticism applies to different Protestant mission bodies working at cross-purposes anywhere in the world of Islam. Happily, in this case such criticism is less needed than formerly. The lines of cleavage among the Syrian churches are sometimes curious and

[1] See "Fifty-three Years in Syria," vol. I, p. 28, by Dr. H. H. Jessup.

puzzling. The antagonism between Orthodox Greeks and Maronites is natural. The former repudiate, the latter accept the papal claims. It is also natural for the Orthodox to feel bitterly toward the papal Greeks, who, after a fierce quarrel, separated from them in 1724. A century and a quarter after the split, according to Churchill, "the Greek Catholic bishop in Beyrout was violently assaulted at the altar by the Orthodox bishop's party, . . . his robes were torn from his back, and he was driven ignominiously into the street."[1] But in some places the papal Greeks hate the papal Maronites more than they do their former Orthodox brethren. With the Maronites they have nothing in common but ecclesiastical allegiance; with the Orthodox they share a common inheritance of tradition and ritual.

Such elements of discord among the different Christian sects always exist, but, it should be added with emphasis, they are by no means constantly active. As Moslems and Christians may live side by side in harmony, even to a greater degree among the antagonistic Christian bodies there may be long periods of peaceful intercourse. In the ordinary villages and towns the normal relations are friendly. For hot-beds of strife, ever threatening to break out, or at best rendering ecclesiastical life an armed truce, one must turn to the holy places of Palestine.

It is in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and in the Church of the Anastasis, or Resurrection, at Jerusalem (popularly called the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), that the antagonism among Christian bodies develops into positive scandal. In the Bethlehem church, where a quarrel between Greek and Latin priests precipitated the Crimean War, Moslem soldiers are always on guard. A friend of mine asked a Turkish soldier why he stood exactly in one place. "It is to watch that nail," he said, pointing to the wall. "The Armenians drove it in, boasting they would hang a picture on it. The Greeks threatened to prevent them. It is my business to stand here and see that no one touches the nail. If the Armenians get at it, they will hang

[1] "Mount Lebanon," vol. I, p. 185, by Colonel Churchill (London, 1853).

their picture and crow over their victory. If the Greeks come near it, they will pull it out and claim that they have won their point against the Armenians. So I must guard the nail till I am relieved by another soldier."

Every pilgrim or traveller who would visit the alleged Sepulchre of Christ must pass the low platform, just within the entrance, where lounge the supercilious Moslem guards who keep the keys of the Anastasis. As a matter of fact, they are the safest custodians that could be found in Jerusalem under the present conditions. Archdeacon Dowling declares that the real proprietor of the Holy Sepulchre is the sultan.[1] I have heard this question violently disputed, pro and con, by prominent citizens of Jerusalem, Greeks and Latins. Practically, the different bodies—Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians—have no more than the right of custody of different parts. Such an arrangement, which follows the minutest regulations, is imperative. Whoever may be the actual owner of the building, the Turkish Government is ultimately responsible for its care. Should the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians fail to agree to make some needful repairs of the pavement around the tabernacle over the tomb, which they guard in common, this must be done at the expense of the municipality.

A few years ago there was a dispute between the Greek and Franciscan priests as to the right to sweep the steps leading up from the court-yard to the Latin Chapel of the Agony of Mary. Members of both parties waited for hours at the foot of the stairway for the decision of the Turkish governor and of the French consul, who were in communication regarding this weighty matter. Doubtless, old documents were ransacked for precedent. Meanwhile, crowds collected in the court and on the roofs of the surrounding buildings. Stones were thrown at the monks and priests, quite likely by partisans of both factions. In the fight that was precipitated the Latins got the worst of it. Leading Greek priests and monks, in whose garments hatchets were found concealed, were arrested, tried, and condemned before

[1] See his pamphlet, "The Patriarchate of Jerusalem," p. 22 (London, 1908).

the Turkish courts. Eventually these were pardoned by the sultan.

From these scenes of strife it is a relief to turn to one of the most extraordinary social and religious phenomena chronicled in history. For a month, beginning with July 24, 1908, when the suspended constitution of 1877 was again proclaimed, the various cults of the Turkish Empire forgot their differences in what may be called, without any exaggeration, a prolonged love-feast. In an ecstasy of relief at deliverance from the inhuman autocracy of 'Abd-el-Hamîd, the antagonistic peoples found an unlooked-for bond. As victims of a common oppression they had suffered apart; they now came together as sharers in a common joy. Stirred to its very bottom, human nature in Turkey for once brought only its best elements to the surface. Among foreign onlookers, optimists were triumphant; pessimists were for the moment silenced. In the universal shouts of liberty, equality, and fraternity, the accent was at first on fraternity. The manifestations were too natural and gay to be hysterical. Every one was simply happy. Speaking generally, this carnival of joy was no epidemic. Rather it was manifested by spontaneous outbursts occurring all over the empire at the same time. At Constantinople people of all nationalities fell on each others' necks in the streets. Moslems joined Christians in decorating the graves of massacred Armenians. Banners and draperies were stretched over the narrow streets of the old town of Beyrout; the pavements were strewn with rugs; shops were temporarily supplied with furniture from home, as an invitation to hospitality. In his exuberance, one merchant publicly exhibited the pictures of his children. Different districts vied with each other in entertaining the rest of the city. Among the huge crowds there was nothing but good-nature. No one was drunk. Pickpockets forgot their trade. Rowdies became polite. A knot of people, discussing the new spirit of religious equality at the street corner, would hail two passers-by, a Greek priest and a Moslem sheikh, and make them kiss each other, in dramatic illustration of the subject. The Moslem roughs of the old city, who had been in deadly feud with the Christian toughs

of the suburbs, invited their former enemies to a feast in a public square, serving them with their own hands. In Jerusalem the Greeks gave an entertainment where the patriarch sprinkled the Jews with rose-water. The Armenians invited the whole city to a reception at their convent, especial attention being paid to the Moslems. Not to be outdone, the Latins hired the theatre and offered free dramatic exhibitions to the entire community. Nine months later, at a public meeting at Damascus, orators prophesied an era of humanity, justice, and brotherhood in the Turkish Empire, in which members of all races and creeds would dwell together in harmony. The speeches were loudly applauded by the audience, which included the Turkish governor, the Orthodox patriarch, Jewish rabbis, and Moslem sheikhs.

This meeting, which has been described by Mr. James Creelman,[1] occurred in the early summer of 1909, soon after the terrible massacres of Armenians at Adana, which to the superficial observer seemed to give the lie to the protestations of the summer before.[2] It is manifestly unfair to indict a whole people for events happening in one district. But I would go further than mere general statements. To me the assertion seems quite legitimate that the counter-revolution, of which the massacres formed an incident, proved that below the froth of the summer's sentiment there lay something more solid which later prevented the spirit of massacre from spreading over a wide area. After the events of Adana stories were everywhere afloat in the towns of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, telling of orders from the reactionary party at Constantinople for the massacre of Christians, which were set aside by the authorities, civil or military, as the case might be. These stories have been neither authenticated nor disproved. That some of them have a basis in truth is morally certain. It is a fact that no more massacres occurred. But had the Moslems wanted a general massacre, no authority at that time, civil or military, could have pre-

[1] See his article, entitled "After the Great Massacre," in *Pearson's Magazine*, October, 1909, p. 454 *ff.* (New York).

[2] Compare with pp. 192–3.

vented it. The inference is that the people did not want it. Why, then, should we hesitate to ascribe their reluctance to memories—acting consciously or unconsciously—to memories of the strange, glad days when they declared their new-born love for their Christian neighbors? Those, indeed, were days of prophecy. The complete fulfilment may be far in the future, but surely a foretaste has been already vouchsafed.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

Introductory Note

From the point of view of their origin, the Eastern churches fall under four categories. In the first is the Holy Orthodox or Greek Church, whose claim to be the most lineal representative of the primitive church may be conceded. In the second are the national churches, which arose during the fifth and sixth centuries in protest to the decisions of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and which are more or less tainted with the so-called heresies condemned by those councils. These are the Nestorian, Gregorian or Armenian, Coptic or Egyptian, Abyssinian, and Old Syrian or Jacobite Churches.[1] In the third category are such portions of all the above-mentioned churches as have submitted to the authority of Rome, and are thus known as the Uniate, Uniat, or

[1] The Nestorian heresy of the two persons in Christ was condemned at the Council of Ephesus, 431 A. D. Its followers constituted the Nestorian Church. The Monophysite doctrine, which maintained the existence of a single nature in Christ, was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A. D. In consequence of this the churches of Syria, Egypt, and Armenia broke away from the Orthodox Church, forming the Jacobite, Coptic, and Gregorian National Churches. The Copts, however, alone held to the purely Monophysite view, that the divinity and humanity make up one compound nature in Christ. The Gregorians, and later the Jacobites, embraced the Eutychian form of the doctrine that the divinity constitutes His sole nature. In the seventh century, the Emperor Heraclius sought a common ground for agreement between orthodox and heretics in the expression, "One divinely human mode of working and willing in Christ." This doctrine became known as Monothelitism. It was condemned at the Third Council of Constantinople in 680, but was adopted by the Maronite or National Syrian Church of the Lebanon.

United bodies. These are governed by a local hierarchy under the control of the Papal See, but preserve almost intact the ritual, discipline, and customs of the churches from which they have severally seceded. These churches are the Greek Catholic Melchite Church, the Chaldean or United Nestorian Church, the Armenian Catholic, Coptic Catholic, Abyssinian Catholic, and Syrian Catholic Churches. In the fourth category the Maronite or the ancient national church of the Lebanon stands alone. Resembling the Uniate bodies in the terms of its submission to Rome, it differs from these in being the only example of a heretical national church that has thus submitted in its entirety. There are Gregorian Armenians and United Armenians, Copts and Coptic Catholics, and so forth through the list; there are no non-united Maronites.[1]

In our present study we are concerned with only five out of these thirteen churches, namely, the Holy Orthodox or Greek Church, the Greek Catholic Melchite Church, the Maronite Church, the Old Syrian or Jacobite Church, and the Syrian Catholic Church. Six of the remaining eight are quite beyond our geographical pale: the Coptic, the Coptic Catholic, the Abyssinian, the Abyssinian Catholic, the Nestorian, and the Chaldean or United Nestorians. Copts and Abyssinians have a foothold in Jerusalem, and a share in the cult of the Holy Sepulchre, but they are practically strangers in Syria and Palestine. In a somewhat modified sense the same holds of the Armenians and Armenian Catholics. It is true that many thousand Armenians, both Gregorian and United, are domesticated in the northern part of Syria, but only as an overflow, as it were, of the Armenians of Asia Minor; it is also true that the Armenian convent at Jerusalem, with its resident patriarch accredited to the Holy City, is rich and influential, playing an important rôle in the affairs of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as in the Church of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, but the

[1] This list of thirteen bodies covers only the Eastern churches of Turkey, Egypt, and Abyssinia. On page 95 may be found the names of other ecclesiastical bodies following Eastern rites in Europe and recognized by Rome.

number of Armenians, Gregorian and United, actually resident in or near the Holy City amounts only to about twelve hundred. In other parts of the land, exclusive of the extreme north, there may be found about four thousand more. The picturesquely situated Monastery of B'zummar became a centre for the Armenian Catholics, who fled to the Lebanon from government persecution in Aleppo about the middle of the nineteenth century, being for some time the residence of their chief, styled the Patriarch of Cilicia.[1] This dignitary now resides at Constantinople.

Of the five Eastern churches which claim our attention in Syria and Palestine proper, the Maronite is the strongest numerically, with about thirty-six per cent of the total Christian population of about nine hundred thousand, but the Greek Orthodox Church follows closely with about thirty-four per cent.[2] The Greek Catholic communion has less than half as many followers as the Greek Orthodox. Subtracting the Latins or Roman Catholics and the Protestants, who, taken together, amount to several thousand, the rest of the Christian inhabitants, amounting to about five per cent of the whole number, is divided between the Jacobites or Old Syrians and the Syrian Catholics, with some nineteen thousand of the former and some twenty-four thousand of the latter. The Greek Orthodox are spread all over Syria and Palestine; the Greek Catholics are strongest in Central Syria; the Maronites are largely concentrated in the Lebanon and in Beyrout; while the Syrians (both Jacobite and Catholic) are mainly confined to northern Syria.

These five churches have many things in common, both among themselves and with Rome. From a Protestant point of view, these matters in which there is agreement

[1] See "Mount Lebanon," vol. I, pp. 22 and 93, by Colonel Churchill (London, 1853). "The Turkish Empire," vol. II, p. 147, by R. R. Madden (London, 1862).

[2] These statistics, based on Baedeker's list (edition of 1906), should be taken with caution, as should all the greatly varying estimates of the population of Syria and Palestine, their being no scientific government census for these lands. The figures, however, probably indicate with approximate correctness the relative numerical strength of the various Christian bodies.

must overshadow the points of difference. In the same manner the divisions of non-episcopal Protestantism must be a constant puzzle to Roman Catholics, who must recognize in all denominations one main trend of doctrine and practice. Sharing in common, among other things, a belief in the seven sacraments, these five Eastern churches all hold to baptismal regeneration, confession and absolution, the sacrifice of the mass, apostolic succession, the three ecclesiastical orders, intercession of the Virgin and the saints, as well as to the underlying points of theology proper. This basic unity of doctrine and practice explains the ease with which large bodies from all the churches have been received into communion by Rome, with hardly any alteration in church services and ecclesiastical customs. But, taken together, these five Eastern churches show several points of difference from the Roman Catholic or Western church, apparent in all, though, in some particulars, distinctly less emphasized in the united bodies, and especially less in the Maronite, the most ultramontane of all. These will appear clearly in our detailed treatment, but it may be well to group together some of them in this introductory note. Thus we may specify the more democratic character of the Eastern churches, illustrated in the non-united bodies by the people's part in the choice and election of patriarchs and bishops; a free use of the vernacular in the church services, in contrast with the general use of Latin by the Romans; the emphasis laid on the mass as a mystery, by screening the sanctuary and altar from the view of the people, a practice common to all the Eastern churches, except the Maronite; the number and rigidity of fasts (relaxed in the united communions); the ordaining of married men as parish priests; the wearing of beards by the clergy; communion of the people in both kinds and the confirmation of infants immediately after baptism, both practices common to all but the Maronites.

I. The Orthodox Church

That great branch of the church universal, variously known as the Orthodox, Eastern, or Greek Church, has itself many branches. Though independent in control, one of the other, these members acknowledge one common head, the Lord Jesus Christ, believing that He has no vicar on earth, and one common doctrine and practice, which indissolubly bind them together. The fullest form of the title of this church is: "The Church of the Seven Councils, Ecumenical, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic." Claim is thus officially laid to the term Catholic. Since the separation of the churches in the eleventh century, however, the Eastern church has been ordinarily contented with the title, "The Holy Orthodox Church," which distinguishes it from the Western church, especially designated as Catholic. When a member of the Orthodox Church in Syria to-day speaks of a Catholic, he uses the term as equivalent to papal. Nor is the Eastern choice of a badge without vital significance. The Orthodox Church is one as the Roman Catholic Church is one, but with a different bond of unity. With the latter this bond is expressed, in the last analysis, by a personal loyalty to the Pope of Rome; with the former it is expressed by an impersonal loyalty to orthodoxy, as laid down by the Ecumenical Councils, representing the different branches of the whole church. Greek theologians hold that since the last of the seven great councils, the term ecumenical can no longer be applied technically to the councils of the church, but from time to time such general assemblies may be summoned under the name of local councils. The last was called in 1872 by the Patriarch of Constantinople, to settle the status of the Bulgarian church, delegates being present from all branches of the Orthodox Church, except that of Russia, which, as an interested party, had no representation.[1]

The points of belief and practice, which essentially differ-

[1] This reason was assigned to me by a prominent ecclesiastic of the Jerusalem Monastery.

entiate the Orthodox communion from the papal, were in 1895 summed up as follows by Anthimus, then Patriarch of Constantinople: (1) Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone. (2) The necessity for triple immersion in baptism. (3) The use of leavened bread in the mass, as over against the azyma, or unleavened bread. (4) The form of the epiclesis, or invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the worshippers and upon the sacramental gifts. (5) Communion of the people in both kinds. (6) The denial of indulgence and purgatory, though disbelief in the latter is held to be consistent with prayers for the dead.[1]

It is a fundamental axiom of the Orthodox Church, inherited from the Byzantine Empire, that wherever there is an independent state, there also must be an independent church. Thus, as far as Greek orthodoxy is concerned, temporal and spiritual authority have the same geographical limits. While coextensive, they are not necessarily coincident, hence an autonomous Greek church can exist in an autonomous Moslem state.[2] As a corollary to this general proposition, whenever a given country becomes independent the Orthodox Church within its borders should become not only self-governing, but autocephalous: that is, having the right to elect its chief or the members of the synod which directs it without the necessity of obtaining confirmation of the election from any other patriarch or synod. At the present day the one hundred million members of the Orthodox Church are grouped in at least fifteen of these autocephalous churches. In the following list the dates indicate the year when the independence of a given church was either claimed or acknowledged. From a study of these dates it will be at once apparent that many of these churches owe their independence to the comparatively recent lopping off of territory from European Turkey. In some cases the independence of the church is almost synchronous with that

[1] This list is found in an encyclical and synodical letter, dated 1895, addressed to clergy and people. Quoted by Comte de Jehay, "De la Situation Légale des Sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans," p. 91.

[2] The state religion of Turkey is Islam, but the sultan claims a certain control of all the churches. Compare with page 43.

of the state; in others, the full independence of the church in relation to the See of Constantinople follows after a longer or a shorter interval. Thus the supremacy of the Holy Synod of Belgrade over the Servian church followed almost immediately on the recognition of the independence of the kingdom at the Congress of Berlin. On the other hand, though Greece achieved independence in 1833, the independence of the Church of Greece was not recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople till 1850. In the following list, the fifteen self-governing branches of the Orthodox Church are placed in order of acknowledged rank.[1]

(1) The Ecumenical Church, which has for its chief the Patriarch of Constantinople. (381 A. D.) The extent of his jurisdiction, past and present, is referred to later.

(2) The Patriarchate of Alexandria. (About 67 A. D.)

(3) The Patriarchate of Antioch. (53 A. D.)

(4) The Patriarchate of Jerusalem. (451 A. D.)

(5) The Church of Russia. This body, consisting of some ninety million communicants, is now directed by the Most Holy Governing Synod, which sits at Saint Petersburg. The independence of this church dates from 1589, with the universal recognition of the patriarchate, which, however, lasted only until 1700, when Peter the Great replaced it by the synod. The organization of this body remains unchanged, with a membership of bishops and priests appointed by the czar, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Saint Petersburg. The function of the high procurator, a layman, who sits with the body, is to secure a conformity between the ecclesiastical decisions and the laws of the empire.

(6) The Metropolitan Church of Cyprus. (431 A. D.) This church still stoutly asserts its independence, established at the Council of Ephesus. In 1900, when it was impossible for the synod to agree on the election of a metropolitan archbishop, the offer of the Patriarch of Constantinople to nominate the candidate was refused as militating against autocephalous rights.[2]

[1] See the work of de Jehay, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[2] See de Jehay, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

(7) The Church of Greece, directed by the Holy Synod of Athens. (1850; but see above.)

(8) The Archbishopric of Mount Sinai. (About 1775 A. D.) The archbishop receives consecration from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but claims independence over this Convent in the Desert, constituting what is probably the smallest church in the world. This claim is recognized by Russia, but not by Constantinople;[1] but theologians who acknowledge it give Sinai the eighth rank.

(9) The Church of Servia, governed by the Holy Synod of Belgrade. (1879 A. D.)

(10) The Church of Roumania, governed by the Holy Synod of Bucharest. (1885.)

(11) The Church of Montenegro, whose head is the Vladika or Chief Bishop, of Cettigne. (1766.)

(12) The Patriarchate of Karlowitz, in Croatia-Slavonia, Hungary. (Founded in 1743; re-established in 1848.)

(13) The Metropolitan Church of Hermannstadt, in Transylvania, Austro-Hungary. (1868.)

(14) The Metropolitan Church of Cernowitz, capital of Bukowina, Austro-Hungary. (1873.)

(15) The Bulgarian Church, whose head is called Exarch. The imperial firman granting the Bulgarians a right to possess their own exarchate independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople was issued in 1870. This right was naturally contested by the patriarch, as long as Turkey continued to have a shadow of authority in Bulgaria. The continued residence of the exarch in Constantinople, since the complete independence of the kingdom, is merely in the interests of the large number of members of the Bulgarian church who live in Macedonia.

To these fifteen churches should now be added the churches of Bosnia and Herzegovina,[2] which indeed have been practically independent since the Congress of Berlin, although not formally annexed to Austria till the autumn of 1908. When any one of the autocephalous churches

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] It may be noted that the Patriarch of Constantinople seldom gives up his control without protest and struggle.

elects a new head, "letters of peace," to announce his election, are sent to the heads of all the other churches.

It will be noticed in the above list of autocephalous churches, that the first four—namely, the Ecumenical Church under the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—are all in the Turkish Empire, for in theory Egypt is still a dependancy of Turkey. Thus the general rule of ecclesiastical government in the Orthodox Church, according to which temporal and spiritual jurisdiction have the same geographical limits, is so far modified in the Turkish Empire that the ecclesiastical authority is divided among four independent branches. The reasons for this exception, having their roots in primitive church history, do not concern us here. Independent though they be, the four patriarchates have two central points of contact: one in the person of the sultan of the empire, who in a manner inherits the ecclesiastical prerogatives of his Byzantine predecessors, and without whose final sanction no patriarch may be enthroned;[1] the other in the holy places of Palestine, which belong to the whole church as found in the empire, and the control of which is shared by all the patriarchs. This complete independence of the four sees is not generally recognized by the outside world, or even by many Western scholars, who maintain that the Patriarch of Constantinople exercises supreme authority over the Greek Church throughout the empire. Thus in his recent history, Adeney states that when Constantinople came under Turkish rule the patriarch "was set over all the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, including those of the three other Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria."[2]

[1] De Jehay (*op. cit.*) asserts that Mohammed II assumed not only the right of investiture but also employed the very Greek formula used by the Byzantine emperors, though this included the phrase "The Holy Trinity that has given me the empire!" (p. 90). On page 52 we give an illustration of imperial power, whereby a Greek ecclesiastic was exiled for refusing to recognize a patriarch confirmed by the sultan. All patriarchs must be Turkish subjects.

[2] "The Greek and Eastern Churches," by W. F. Adeney, "International Theological Library," 1908, foot-note 1 to p. 312. The author in an

Again referring to Silbernagl as authority, he calls the present ecumenical patriarch "the spiritual head of the whole Orthodox Church (*sic*) and the secular head of the Greek Church in the Turkish dominions."[1] Adeney acknowledges the present rights of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem to choose their own patriarchs without reference to the Ecumenical Church, but adds that "the Patriarch of Alexandria is still subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople."[2] Similar generalizations are made by Tozer.[3]

Such a view of the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople over the other three, mistaken though it is, rises not unnaturally from the misinterpretation of certain facts. The title Ecumenical is itself misleading. It seems to have misled the Turks themselves. Since the taking of Constantinople in 1453, the resident patriarch has been regarded as head of the Orthodox in Turkey, by the government, which has attributed to him the title of Millet-Bassi, or Chief of the (Greek) Nation.[4] As a matter of fact, he is supreme over by far the larger part of the empire. His see to-day includes Asia Minor, the Ægean Isles, Crete, and all of European Turkey, though in portions where the sultan has but nominal sway, the sway of the patriarch is also but nominal. Subject to him there are eighty-eight metropolitans and bishops (not including suffragans), over against forty-two in the combined Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, most of the prelates of the last-named see being merely titular. Moreover, his see to-day is materially shrunken from its former proportions. In the middle of the last century it also included Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania, then parts of the empire. Supremacy over the Russian Church, which had lasted, with ever-lessening grip, for six centuries, came to an end formally only with the establishment of the Russian Patriarchate in 1587. In the

earlier chapter (p. 136), dealing with patristic times, states that "in the last resort each patriarch is independent in his own sphere."

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 336. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

[3] "The Church and the Eastern Empire," p. 47, by H. F. Tozer (1904).

[4] For the significance of this title see page 46.

palmy days of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were, by comparison, mere country parishes. But apart from geographical extent this patriarchate has always enjoyed many evident advantages over the other three. While these latter fell under the blighting influences of Islam from its earliest days, Constantinople, the seat of the former, remained the capital of the Byzantine Empire till 1453, whence a certain imperial glamour has never ceased to hang about the Ecumenical Church. It was in Constantinople that the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem found exile when their thrones were usurped by Latin prelates, and in Constantinople were their lines kept up for over a century and a half of crusading domination in their own sees. In the imperial city they were under the wing, as it were, of the Ecumenical patriarch, until he, in his turn, was temporarily forced from his throne by the establishment of the Latin Empire, which lasted from 1204 to 1261. For more than two centuries previous to 1843 the Patriarchs of Jerusalem were usually resident at Constantinople, thus acknowledging it to be the practical centre for ecclesiastical affairs. Because of his nearness to the imperial throne the Ecumenical patriarch has often acted as intermediary between the sultan and the other patriarchs. From their brother at Constantinople these prelates to this day, under normal conditions,[1] receive the chrismatic oil. In comparatively recent times (from 1724 to 1850) the Patriarchate of the Holy Synod of Antioch, at Damascus, by reason of internal weakness delegated the election of its own patriarchs to the Holy Synod of Constantinople. To the outside world, such voluntary delegating of inherent rights might well appear to be an acknowledgment of superior control. In view of what has seemed to me to be a general misapprehension of a somewhat delicate matter—namely, the interrelations of the four patriarchs—application was made to the Bureau of the Patriarchate of Alexandria for official answers to a number of questions covering the points at

[1] During the recent dispute between the Sees of Antioch and Constantinople, the former received the chrism from the chief metropolitan of the Russian Church.

issue. These questions of mine with the answers are given fully in the Appendix, but it may be well here to present the gist thereof, even at the risk of some repetition of facts already stated.[1]

The four Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria are equal and independent in administration one of the other, although they share one doctrine, that of orthodoxy, and are governed by the same rules, those of the Ecumenical Councils. Whenever it is evident that, in any one of the sister churches, the orthodox doctrine or the rules of the whole church are imperilled, every other church has, of itself, the right to interfere. Each patriarchate has the right to communicate with the government at Constantinople, either by direct correspondence or, mediately, through such representatives as it may have at Constantinople. The Patriarch of Constantinople may act as intermediary between the other patriarchs and the government, but never without their direct request. In the same way the Ecumenical patriarch may intervene in the internal affairs of the other patriarchates, but only at their especial invitation. Should such intervention appear to prejudice their recognized privileges it would be refused. The title of Ecumenical, bestowed on the Patriarch of Constantinople, for local reasons, in the year 588 A. D.,[2] and enjoyed by all his successors, carries with it no especial privileges; this patriarch being, relative to the other patriarchs, as well as to all bishops not immediately subject to the throne of Constantinople, merely *Primus inter pares*. The title "Millet-Bassi," or Chief of the (Greek) Nation,[3] attributed to him since the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, gives him no spiritual domination over the members of the community in the other patriarchates, which are in every way independent of the See of Constantinople. The Ecumenical patriarch distributes the holy chrism to the other patriarchs for two reasons, both purely practical, and in no way involv-

[1] See Appendix, where questions and answers are given in French.

[2] The title was assumed by John IV in summoning a synod to settle the affairs of the Church of Antioch. Adeney, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[3] See page 44.

ing the idea of supremacy; first, its preparation is extremely costly, and, second, this ceremony requires the presence of at least twelve prelates, the assembling together of whom is often a difficult matter in any one of the other patriarchates, where the entire number of prelates is smaller. The reason why all the patriarchs share the right to control the affairs of the Holy Sepulchre in Jersualem, is that the holy places and the shrines of pilgrimage constitute properties belonging to the entire nation of Greek Orthodox, said properties having but one agent, the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, whose chief is the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and whose principal mission is to guard the holy places, and to keep them in a good and secure condition, by means of the offerings of Orthodox pilgrims, and of all other contributors.

Attention may be called to a few points in the above authoritative statements, as they may serve to explain the misapprehension that has arisen in regard to the relative position of the Ecumenical patriarch. In the first place it becomes clear that the title of "Millet-Bassi," or Chief of the Nation, attributed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, indicates a point of view from which the government regards this functionary, and not the point of view from which he is regarded by his fellow-patriarchs. During the first years of Turkish rule in Constantinople, all the Christian sects (Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, etc.) were confounded under the general title of Roumi (Greek), being, from the government point of view, submitted to the Orthodox patriarch. Moreover, the government point of view has become purely theoretic, for, as shown above, the sultan now treats with each patriarchate directly, unless the friendly offices of the Patriarch of Constantinople has been sought for practical reasons.[1] No better proof could be adduced concerning the difference between the points of view of the sultan and the church itself than the *status quo* of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem in the year 1909; both these patriarchs were

[1] For about two centuries previous to 1843 the sultan's firman confirming the Patriarch of Jerusalem was transmitted through the Patriarch of Constantinople.

recognized by the sultan's government, though, for two entirely different reasons, they were not recognized by the Ecumenical patriarch. Another illustration of this difference of point of view is furnished by the split in the early part of the eighteenth century, which led to the establishment of the two lines of patriarchs, existing ever since, each claiming to be Greek Patriarch of Antioch, one Orthodox, the other Catholic. For over one hundred years the Turkish Government ignored the division, treating members of both churches as belonging to one communion and recognizing only the Orthodox patriarch.

The second statement calling for notice is as follows: "Whenever it is evident that, in any one of the sister churches, orthodox doctrine or the rules of the whole church are imperilled, every other church has of itself the right to interfere." In case of such interference being attempted, it is evident that friction might easily be caused by a difference of opinion between the church criticised and the church criticising as to what constitutes a menace to orthodox doctrine or practice. Such friction would naturally be exaggerated if the interference came from that patriarch who enjoys the title *primus inter pares*, and who resides in the imperial city. Ambitious motives might be attributed. It is conceivable that they might be entertained. An assertion of supremacy would be suspected. As a matter of fact it often has been suspected. In the recent contest for the possession of the Patriarchate of Antioch (to be detailed later), between the native Syrian and the so-called Ionian or foreign elements, the former bitterly accused the Patriarch of Constantinople of an unwarrantable attempt to usurp authority in the internal affairs of a sister patriarchate. "We will have no pope to rule over us!" cried the excited Damascenes. "Nothing can control us but a General Council!" Leaders of the Ionian faction vehemently deny this charge. One of these, himself a prelate of the See of Alexandria, declared to me that "never, never, never," had the Ecumenical patriarch attempted such arbitrary interference in any one of the sister patriarchates: he was the first to make war against the idea of the papacy;

so he would be the last to claim it for himself.[1] If the Damascenes accused the present Patriarch of Constantinople of the attempt to usurp authority over their affairs, they misunderstood a merely kindly warning. "In no sense," added this prelate, "can the Ecumenical patriarch be called the head of the Orthodox Church in Turkey." Speaking to me in the same line, a member of the Holy Synod of Jerusalem confirmed the statement that the title "ecumenical" signifies no more than a theoretic difference. The Patriarch of Jerusalem is independent in internal matters, but should he be called upon to make an important decision concerning the faith he must consult with the other patriarchs. Finally, among the official statements, we may note still one other, which suggests that conditions might arise appearing to justify an outsider in ascribing a certain supremacy to the Ecumenical patriarch: namely, the statement that all four patriarchs share in the control of the Holy Sepulchre and other shrines of Palestine. Assertion of his rights in this matter might easily be misinterpreted, not only by outsiders, but even by the Orthodox in the See of Jerusalem. The recent quarrel in that see, to be touched on later, had some of its roots in these very conditions.

The hierarchy of the Greek Church includes the three main orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. Theoretically the metropolitan (who corresponds to a Western archbishop) is the bishop of the chief city of a district, with supervision over the other bishops therein, but under the present straitened conditions of Syria and Palestine, the distinction between the two grades is merely a matter of title, not only in the Greek, but in all the churches. As a matter of fact,

[1] It would appear, however, that before the papal claims were definitely made, the Patriarch of Constantinople had entertained similar ambitions. "In the year 550 Justinian conferred on the Patriarch of Constantinople the privilege of receiving appeals from the other patriarchs. By this time, backed by the power of the autocrat, the bishop of the chief city of the empire was threatening to become a veritable pope, in our later sense of the title." (See Adeney, *op. cit.*, p. 139.)

members of both grades are commonly referred to in Arabic as *mutarîn'* (singular: *mutran'*, the equivalent for metropolitan), the term *is'qof* (ordinary bishop) being rarely heard. The patriarch, on the other hand, is in a very real sense chief bishop of all, exercising supreme supervision and discipline over his see. The first chapter has touched on conditions in the Turkish Empire by reason of which the power of the prelates of the different churches has been differentiated from those pertaining to corresponding offices in the Western church. The differences may be here summed up by the statement that the patriarch is the civil as well as the religious head of his flock throughout the see, and that the bishops, subject to him, occupy similar relations to their own dioceses. The patriarch is assisted in his duties by the Holy Synod, a clerical body whose constitution differs in the several sees. Thus the Holy Synod of Jerusalem includes the patriarch, nine metropolitans, ten archimandrites,[1] and an archdeacon.[2] The Holy Synod of Antioch consists solely of all the bishops. The Holy Synod of Constantinople has only twelve members, though the number of bishops of the see amounts to eighty-eight. According to de Jehay,[3] the Holy Synod of Alexandria, consisting of four metropolitans, exists only in name, but I found it in session in the summer of 1909. At Constantinople certain church affairs are also regulated by a mixed assembly, clerical and lay. A similar body exists at Alexandria, at least in theory, and demands for the creation of one at Jerusalem, formulated by the Syrian or National party, were granted in 1910.

The rules governing the election of patriarchs differ in the four sees. In our present work we are especially concerned with those of Antioch and Jerusalem. However, as the

[1] A title of honor given a priest occupying a prominent administrative position, as head of school or monastery, and corresponding in a general way to the title of canon.

[2] See "The Patriarchate of Jerusalem," p. 12, by Archdeacon Dowling. (London, 1908).

[3] See "De la Situation Légale des Sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans, par le comte F. van den Steen de Jehay," p. 129 *ff.* (Bruxelles, 1906).

democratic spirit of the Greek Church has a better illustration in the election of the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria, we may briefly touch on these also. In the electoral assembly at Constantinople the lay element is decidedly preponderant. While the clerical voters range from twelve to twenty members only, the laymen should number seventy-three and represent a great variety of interests.[1] Final confirmation of the election must be received from the Porte. For centuries after the Turkish occupation, most of the patriarchs of Alexandria were appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, but the present incumbent was elected in a truly democratic fashion. The present procedure is as follows: In the cathedral church there meet delegates from all over Egypt, chosen as their representatives by members of the various trades and professions, who nominate an indefinite number of clergy. The list of names, thus chosen, is then transmitted to Constantinople for revision by the Porte, representing the suzerain power, and then is sent back for confirmation by the khedive, who may create further delay while he consults with the Porte. From this revised list the electors then choose three names, which are submitted to the above-named authorities as before. Finally, from this trio of names one man is elected. At the election of the present patriarch, Photios, by an overwhelming majority, there were one hundred and sixty-nine electors, including two bishops and many priests, the rest being laymen. His beatitude is one of the promi-

[1] The constitution of the Electoral Assembly at Constantinople is as follows:

I. Clerical members. 1. The twelve members of the Holy Synod. 2. The Metropolitan of Heraclius, who may be a member of the Holy Synod. 3. Other metropolitans who may be found in the capital.

II. Lay members. 1. The three highest dignitaries of the patriarchate. 2. The eight lay members of the Mixed Council. 3. Eight state functionaries, civil and military. 4. The governor of Samos or his representative. 5. Three representatives from the Danubian principalities. 6. The four most distinguished men of learning: as doctors, lawyers, professors, etc. 7. Seven merchants. 8. One banker. 9. Ten representatives of the most esteemed corporations. 10. Two delegates from the parishes of the capital and the Bosphorus. 11. Twenty-eight delegates from the provinces. (See de Jehay, pp. 99–100.)

nent figures in the Eastern church to-day. Still of imposing and erect carriage, with a rare combination of dignity and charm, he has a stormy and romantic past behind him. He was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1882, while still only archimandrite,[1] but failing to receive imperial confirmation, he rightly refused to recognize the rival patriarch, elected and enthroned over his head, until his own resignation should be accepted. The refusal of the government and his quiet persistence in holding to the validity of his election produced a deadlock, which was terminated by the decision of the Porte to exile him to the monastery-fortress of Saint Catherine. Here, among the desolate rocks of Sinai, he studied Russian that he might be able to preach to the pilgrims in their own tongue. It was the privilege of Rendel Harris and myself to observe the magic effect of his eloquence upon the rapt and awed faces of the simple peasants, whom he welcomed to the Chapel of the Burning Bush. At Sinai, too, we heard him read the Eucharistic discourse of our Lord in the sonorous Greek, as well as passages from the great tragedians. When his "captivity was turned," in consequence of the election of a new patriarch, friendly to himself, he resumed his position of secretary to the Jerusalem monastery. At the time of his election as Patriarch of Alexandria, he was Bishop of Nazareth, but in the meantime he had once more been an unsuccessful candidate for the throne of Jerusalem. His full title is: "The most Blessed Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, Lybia, and Pentapolis, Ethiopia and all the Land of Egypt."

The Rev. Henry Fanshawe Tozer[2] speaks of the Orthodox Church of Alexandria as "practically extinct." A statistical table prepared by my request at the secretary's office of the Patriarchate of Alexandria suggests a more optimistic view. The population is acknowledged to be floating, and,

[1] It is of interest to note that his famous namesake, Photios, was a layman when appointed Patriarch of Constantinople in 857, but in a few days passed through the orders which led up to the patriarchate.

[2] See "The Church and the Eastern Empire," p. 82, a volume of the series entitled "Epochs of Church History."

in absence of a census, impossible to estimate with full accuracy; but the compiler suggests one hundred thousand as a fair estimate of the Orthodox in the see, including three thousand in Khartûm. Of this total number about one-tenth are Arabic-speaking Syrians, the rest being of Hellenic origin.[1] The Episcopal sees are eight, five of which had bishops in 1908. The list of towns or villages where churches exist shows a total of thirty-three. In fourteen of these there are schools. At the patriarchate in the city of Alexandria there is a printing-press, from which are issued two theological periodicals, one monthly and one weekly. The former is called Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φάρος.

Since 1875 the election to the throne of Jerusalem follows, theoretically at least, a fixed order of procedure.[2] Before this date much irregularity prevailed. From the time of the Patriarch Theophanes (1608–1641) up to 1843, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem were non-resident, occupying a palace in the Phanar, on the Golden Horn, at Constantinople. It became the custom for each patriarch to designate a successor during his active lifetime, subject to the approval of that powerful organization, the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre—of which he was president, and whose headquarters were then at Constantinople—and apparently without reference to the Holy Synod of Jerusalem as such, whose canonical rights were thus passed over. The Ecumenical patriarch had no part in the election, but through him the Porte transmitted the firman confirming each new patriarch. This state of affairs lasted till the death of the Patriarch Athanasius, in 1843, which was followed by a bitter ecclesiastical dispute, involving the retirement of the appointed successor, and resulting in the election of one

[1] The native Egyptian church is the Coptic, with a patriarch resident at Cairo. The Greek Catholic (United Greek) community of Egypt is under the charge of a patriarch, resident at Damascus, who since 1838 has borne the triple title of Patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. Occasionally he resides in Egypt.

[2] It is one of the complaints of the native Syrians to-day that their rights of representation at the patriarchal election, recognized in 1875, are practically ignored. Compare with note to page 70.

Cyril directly by the Holy Synod of Jerusalem, which thus reassumed its lawful prerogatives. After this the patriarchs once more resided in Jerusalem, though for some time each continued to nominate his successor, subject to the confirmation of the Holy Synod.[1] The regulations of 1875 are in substance as follows:

On the death of the patriarch the Holy Synod elects a locum tenens, called a Qaimaqam. He sends letters to the heads of the monasteries in all parts of the see, bidding them notify the people to send to Jerusalem as their representatives a certain number of married priests. These assemble at the Holy City, and with the members of the Holy Synod, together with such archimandrites[2] as may be found present, nominate by written ballot an indefinite number of candidates. These names are transmitted to the Porte through the local government. When the revised list is returned, the assembly reunites, and, by a majority of votes, chooses the three most eligible candidates. Then, following an ancient custom, the members of the Holy Synod, who are the sole electors in this final stage, enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and, by closed ballot, but in the presence of the people, choose one. Before the patriarch-elect can be enthroned, imperial confirmation is necessary, as in the case of all patriarchal sees. According to the canon governing the election of bishops, this should be made by vote of laymen and clergy. It is one of the complaints of the Syrians to-day that the people are no longer given a voice in the matter. Of the eighteen metropolitans and bishops of the see, only three ordinarily reside in their dioceses: the Metropolitan of Nazareth and the Bishops of Bethlehem and Ptolemais (Acre). Of the rest, many are now only titular; but the people are demanding that such bishops as have a flock should become resident.[3]

The full official title of the patriarch is: "The most

[1] For a detailed account of this matter see "The Holy City," vol. II, pp. 541 *ff.*, by George Williams (London, 1849).

[2] This would include the priests belonging to the Brotherhood of the Holy Selpuchre, all of whom have this title.

[3] For a list of the dioceses, see Appendix.

Blessed and Holy Patriarch of the Holy City Jerusalem, and all Palestine, Syria, Arabia beyond Jordan, Cana of Galilee, and Holy Zion." The present patriarchate extends from Egypt on the south to the diocese of Acre on the north (which it includes): from the Mediterranean on the west to the desert on the east. Widely differing estimates are made of the number of the Orthodox in the see, from sixteen thousand, quoted in Baedeker, to sixty thousand or sixty-five thousand, made by a leading Orthodox citizen of Jerusalem. The figures of the Count de Jehay agree closely with the larger estimate.[1] The Orthodox of the Holy City number four or five thousand. These different estimates of the population may be compared with the careful statement (approximate but tabulated by towns and villages) issued, by the command of the patriarch, in 1838, which gives sixteen thousand six hundred and ninety souls for the whole see and six hundred souls for the Holy City.[2] Allowing for the normal increase in population, we judge that the higher estimate of the present population of the whole see is probably nearer the mark than the lower. The increase in the number of Orthodox resident in the city of Jerusalem itself is striking. Besides common schools in Jerusalem and the towns and villages of the see, the Greek Church maintains a large boarding-school for boys (now almost exclusively Ionian or foreign Greeks) within the walls, and a theological training-school, with preparatory department, at the ancient Convent of the Cross, one and one-half miles to the west of the city. Syrians, with but one or two exceptions, are excluded from the theological course, which is open to Hellenic students from all parts of Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, who usually return to their native districts. The college has its library and museum. Archdeacon Dowling gives the number of students for 1908 as thirty-five;[3] in 1909 I was told that they numbered sixty. The Greek ecclesiastics maintain a city hospital with accommodation for forty beds. In

[1] See his work, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[2] See Williams's "The Holy City," vol. I, pp. 490–495.

[3] See his pamphlet, "The Patriarchate of Jerusalem," *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20. Other interesting particulars are given.

the patriarchate is a printing-press from which liturgical publications are issued. A Greek theological magazine called "Νέα Σιών" ("The New Zion"), which began to appear in January, 1904, as a bimonthly, is now issued monthly. To the great Monastery of Constantine, which dominates the Greek Church in Palestine, we shall refer later.

The Patriarchate of Antioch includes the Diocese of Sidon and Tyre on the south, and that of Adana on the north; extending from the Mediterranean on the west to Diabekr on the east. It includes both the Lebanon and the Hauran. The present patriarch informed me that he would estimate the number of his flock at about four hundred thousand. This is not far from the estimate of the Imperial Russian Society quoted by de Jehay,[1] but is far in excess of some other estimates, also quoted by him. The residence of the patriarch, who is *ex officio* Metropolitan of Antioch with episcopal jurisdiction over the city of Damascus, has been in the latter city since 1531, when Antioch was ruined by earthquake. Of the sixteen bishops, who alone constitute the Holy Synod, fourteen are resident in their sees. The Bishops of Edessa and Eironopolis, being *in partibus*, should reside at Damascus, but these posts are now vacant. At present all the bishops are called by courtesy metropolitans.[2] The election of the patriarchs has not followed officially recognized rules, but recently proposals have been submitted to the Porte for confirmation, asking that the electoral body shall consist of all the bishops, the laity to be represented by three electors from the city of Antioch, eight from Damascus, and three from its Faubourg of the Midân: all thus being from the episcopal diocese of the patriarch. In the election of bishops the synod alone has the voting power, but the laity of a given diocese are often in practical control. A few years ago the Orthodox inhabitants of Beyrout insisted on the sole nomination of their candidate (the present bishop) instead of the canonical three, thus creating a deadlock between themselves

[1] See his work, *op. cit.*, p. 133. This estimate is 356,000.

[2] This I have from one of their number. For a list of the dioceses see Appendix.

and the electoral body of bishops. The people boycotted the churches and threatened to secede to the Anglican Communion. The resident chaplain of the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem refused to receive the dissidents as a body, but while leaving them to settle their dispute he proffered his friendly offices in the general interests of peace. The deadlock was finally relieved by the agreement of the synod to recognize the nomination of two dummies; thus the canonical demands were satisfied while the people secured the election of their admirable candidate, whose popularity has been amply justified by a wise and brilliant administration. He has begun the construction of a large building which is destined to be a college. At present the Greeks of Syria have no university, but almost forty per cent of the students of the Syrian Protestant College are Orthodox, including near relations of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. There are Orthodox high-schools at Ḥums, Tripoli, and Damascus, the last being under the direct control of the laity. Many of the common schools in the see were established and are conducted by the Imperial Russian Society of Palestine, of which we speak later. The theological college is at the Monastery of Bellament (Belmont), in the district of the Kura, some twelve miles inland from Tripoli. This was opened by the abbott, in the early half of the seventeenth century, for the higher education of the Syrian youth, in secular as well as theological studies, but was closed by the Ionian Patriarch Methodius (died 1850) as part of his anti-National programme.[1] It was reopened as a training-school for Syrian aspirants to higher clerical rank, as archimandrites or bishops, by Malatios, the first Arab patriarch of Antioch in modern times, who was enthroned in 1899. The school is financed by the patriarch, who sends as many pupils as he pleases, while the bishops may nominate one or two boys each. The clerical graduates remaining unmarried cannot hear confessions after ordination. The course covers six years, including theology, church history, exegesis, and philosophy. All teachers are native Syrians, but not necessarily in holy orders.

[1] See pages 64 ff.

It is the rule that the Orthodox parish priests of Syria and Palestine should be married before ordination to the diaconate, marriage after ordination being uncanonical. A second marriage is prohibited. A bishop must be a celibate at the time of his ordination, but he may be a widower. The case has been known of a patriarch who was later succeeded in office by his legitimate son. As the service books are all translated into Arabic, the parish priests do not require a knowledge of Greek, except for a few words and phrases of peculiar sanctity. As a rule they have little education beyond the most elementary. The priest of a given parish is often chosen from the same family from generation to generation, the office being thus quasi-hereditary. This tendency is said to militate against an educated priesthood, especially in the rural districts. The hair is not cut: when mass is celebrated and during some other services it hangs down over the shoulders; ordinarily it remains coiled up under the headdress, which resembles a college cap with enormously elongated cylindrical base. The soutane, or cassock, is of a dark color, but not necessarily black. With exceptions to be noted, the parish priests have no regular salary, but are paid out of the funds of the Church, a sum ranging (in the town churches) from twenty to eighty-two cents for each mass said on Sunday or on a feast-day. Daily mass is almost unknown except in the cathedral churches.[1] In addition there are the prices of masses for the dead and fees for baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc. In Jerusalem the parish priests have a fixed salary of twelve dollars a month (three napoleons), paid by the convent, besides their ordinary fees for baptisms, etc.

In some of the Orthodox cathedral towns of the East, where there are a number of churches, there obtains a regular circuit system, not unlike that of the Methodists, only more localized. This is not recognized by the canons, but is mere custom, obtaining, however, in places as widely separated as Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beyrout, Hums, and Constantinople. It is not practised in Latakia, which has five Orthodox churches, nor yet in Mersine, both cathedral towns. The

[1] In the Cathedral Church at Alexandria there is no daily mass. Daily mass is said in the Great Convent at Jerusalem.

system has different modifications at different centres, but is everywhere based on a common democratic principle, which recognizes the parity of the parish clergy and their common right to share the ecclesiastical emoluments of a given city. In Beyrout, for example, there are nine priests and nine churches, including eight "parish" churches and the cathedral Church of Saint George. In the vicinity of each church lives a married priest, who during the week attends to the general duties of the "parish," hearing confessions, visiting the congregation, sprinkling the houses with holy water monthly, conducting baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc. He has, however, Sunday duty in his own church but one Sunday out of ten. According to the rules of the circuit he says Sunday mass in a different parish church for eight weeks, coming on the ninth Sunday to the cathedral church, where he begins his duties with high mass, for which he receives an especial fee. For a week, then, he is called Master of the Circuit (Sa'hib ed Dowr) or Master of the Week (Sa'hib ej Jim'a: Greek, Εφημέριος), receiving a fixed salary of two Turkish dollars (about $1.65) for saying daily mass. He has the right to demand a Turkish dollar for every funeral or church wedding which he attends during that week in any part of the entire city, or to demand a quarter of that sum in case he remains absent. On the second Sunday, after saying early mass in the cathedral church, he gives place to his successor, who in turn becomes Master of the Week. The tenth week is a sort of vacation for the retiring priest.[1] This system appears in some cases to affect the solidarity of the parishes. The priest resident at Ras-Beyrout tells me that in no strict sense has his church a people, his "parishioners" feeling at liberty to attend mass anywhere. It is interesting to note that the Orthodox point to the origin of this circuit in the "order of the course" of priestly service, which Zacharias fulfilled.[2]

[1] The exact carrying out of this system at Beyrout would appear to require ten priests. In Hums, where a similar system obtains, there are only four churches with the cathedral, while the number of priests is seven. In this city it would appear that each priest would remain periodically without duty.

[2] The word in Luke 1: 58 is ἐφημερία

The Arabic word for deacon is *shemmas'*. The Orthodox Church in Syria recognizes, theoretically at least, four grades in the diaconate: archdeacon, deacon, subdeacon, and anagnost, or reader. Practically, however, the term archdeacon is hardly more than titular, and the minor orders are rarely filled. The only Greek archdeacon that I ever heard of is Cleophas Kikilides, the learned librarian of the Convent of Jerusalem. He is a member of the Holy Synod, although not in priest's orders. For it is to be noted that, unlike the Anglican archdeacon, the Greek dignitary is but the chief of the deacons. The office of the mass contains a full service for the deacon, but as a matter of fact this is generally taken by the priest or omitted. There is no deacon definitely attached to the Beyrout Cathedral even. The diaconate is merely a stepping-stone to priestly ordination, which requires no definitely prescribed interval between itself and the previous admission to deacon's orders. During the actual interval, the deacon may attend on the bishop of the diocese. With the bishop there are usually also a certain number of celibate deacons who are looking forward to becoming archimandrites or bishops. A deacon must marry before ordination or remain celibate. The single canon that would appear to sanction the contrary has never been put in practice. In a later section will appear the contrasting conditions of the diaconate in general in the Syrian Church, where all grades play an important and practical part in the life of the church.

II. The Recent National Movement in the Orthodox Church

A traveller, interested in the Greek Church, passing from the Patriarchate of Antioch to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to-day, would be sensible of a sudden change of ecclesiastical atmosphere. In the former see he would find a truly national church, with native Syrian clergy, including patriarch and bishops, all speaking the Arabic language as a mother-tongue. Especially noticeable would be the scarcity of monks, so few that he might not meet a single individual. In the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, however, while he would find native Syrian parish priests, he would at once learn

that these are dominated by prelates of an alien race. This Ionian control would confront him most vividly in the Patriarchal Palace, the Great Convent, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Here, indeed, he might find Syrians, but only among the worshippers. As he wandered over the bewildering congeries of courts that form the convent, swarming with priests and monks, he would hear spoken nothing but Greek, except when, with a marked foreign accent, an order was addressed to an Arab servant. Our stranger would emphatically get the idea of a Greek Church, Greek in language as well as in control. Had the date of his visit fallen in 1909, he would have found all the parish churches closed, and might even have chanced on a native Syrian priest holding a service, with a few followers, in the cemetery.

In order to understand these contrasting conditions, we must study for a moment the origin of the famous monastic Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which at present dominates the Greek Church in Jerusalem, and which has only recently lost control of the Greek Church in the Patriarchate of Antioch. According to ecclesiastical tradition, the establishment of the brotherhood which has for its chief function the care of the holy places of Palestine, dates from the erection of the Church of the Resurrection, by order of Constantine, early in the fourth century. It, however, represented a development from an earlier monastic order, originating in very early days at Cæsarea. By the year 494 A. D. its members were everywhere recognized by the name Σπουδαίοι, or Zealots. The organization under the present rules dates from the Patriarchate of Dositheus, which began in the year 1662. According to these rules, the patriarch, who is *ex officio* president of the brotherhood, must be chosen from the members; custom has also restricted the choice of bishops to members of the order, who must be Ionian Greeks—that is, Greeks in race and language though Turkish subjects.[1] At the present time, native Syrians are refused membership, but for about one hundred

[1]Many members of the order who are merely in priest's orders bear the honorary title of Archimandrite. The only Syrian archimandrite is resident in the monastery at Tiberias.

and fifty years after the enthronement of Dositheus this exclusion did not extend to Syrians from the Patriarchate of Antioch, two at least of whom rose to the dignity of Patriarch of Jerusalem. The local natives, however, whose grievances have been summed up in a fiery tract,[1] date their exclusion from the brotherhood, and thus practically from the possibility of attaining episcopal rank, as far back as the Patriarchate of Germanus, which began in 1534, the year of the inception of the Order of the Jesuits. Up to the time of the enthronement of this Peloponnesian monk, so they maintain by a somewhat *naïve* historical argument, all patriarchs, bishops, priests, and monks had been natives of the see. Thus, from primitive times genuine natives of Palestine had been the lawful custodians of the holy places. After the Arab occupation, their rights were confirmed by the famous Covenant of ‘Omar, preserved to this day in the dependancy of the Jerusalem Convent at Constantinople. These rights, temporarily in abeyance during the crusading period, were severally confirmed, and always to the native church, by the Eyyubite and Mameluke dynasties, and finally by the Turkish conquerors. With the usurpation of authority by Germanus, as the native Orthodox deem it, the church of Jerusalem lost its natural independence and self-control. During a patriarchate of forty-five years, he filled up all the episcopal sees with his fellow Grecians. With the independence of the native Syrians went their guardianship of the holy places. This loss of legitimate control, so goes on the native argument, logically involved the further division of the holy places, which soon followed, among Latins, Armenians, and other foreigners, for the original Greek usurpers were themselves foreigners! Attempts, they say, have been made by the Ionians to prove that from the beginnings of Christianity the Orthodox of

[1] لمحة تاريخية في اخوية القبر المقدس اليونانية بقلم الشيخ عبد الاحد الشافي

(Historical Glance at the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.) This was issued in 1893 under the pseudonym of Sheikh ‘Abd-el-Ahad-esh-Shafi, which covered a composite authorship. It was brought down to date and reprinted in 1909.

Palestine were all of their race, but they themselves help to disprove their own argument by excluding the native Syrians of to-day from the brotherhood, thus acknowledging themselves to be aliens. This confession, so triumphantly add the native apologists, is clearly involved in one of the prayers of the Order in commemoration of the patriarchs, which begins with the name of Germanus, to the exclusion of the line of Arab patriarchs who went before. The motives assigned for this usurpation is a greedy desire to hold the purse-strings of the Holy Sepulchre. The annual income, estimated by the native party at over a million Turkish dollars,[1] accrues from the gifts of pilgrims, as well as from the dependencies of the convent at Constantinople, Moscow, Smyrna, Athens, Crete, etc. The accounts are open to no one but the monks. The income is not used for the good of the native Syrians of the see. Charity is withheld from the native poor, while the monks themselves become rich. Syrians are debarred from a higher education. The school at the Convent of the Cross was established in 1845, chiefly for the Ionian students, euphemistically called nephews of the monks, who alone are allowed to take the theological course, the natives being confined to the preparatory studies. Common schools have been opened and again closed. Were it not for the foreign schools no native Orthodox child would be able to read or write in his own language. It was to defend the pilgrims against the Ionian monks that the Imperial Society of Russia was formed. Previously they had sold indulgences, contrary to Orthodox doctrine, and had even taken money for baptizing dead children. Charges of gross personal immorality are hurled at all the Ionian clergy and monks. In fact, the language of the Syrian apologists becomes so sweeping and bitter that the reader of the indictment is driven to ask whether the brotherhood, too, may not have a side to maintain.

[1] It is alleged that the figures (equal to about eight hundred thousand dollars) were copied by the secretary of the Imperial (Russian) Society of Palestine from the accounts of the Jerusalem Patriarchate in 1890. Compare this with the semi-official statement made to the writer (p. 73) placing the annual income at about two hundred and forty thousand dollars.

Before attempting, however, to show the point of view of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in this unhappy quarrel, we must turn to review briefly the relations between this organization and the Patriarchate of Antioch. According to the native chroniclers this patriarchate remained independent of Ionian control until the events following the Catholic schism of 1724. Before the death of Athanasius, the last of the line of Arab or local patriarchs, he recommended the Holy Synod of Damascus to choose for patriarch one Sylvestre, of the Ionian clergy of Constantinople, who might be able to give dignity and authority to their weakened cause in the eyes of the Turkish Government, and also, if possible, to heal the breach. Thus Sylvestre was elevated to the See of Antioch, by appointment from the Holy Synod of Constantinople, at the official request of the Holy Synod at Damascus, who had elected him. This practice was kept up for one hundred and fifty years without infringement on the real independence of the See of Antioch. Instead of healing the breach, however, from his first entry into the see, Sylvestre so antagonized the people that many followed the seceders into the Greek Catholic Church, just organized under a rival patriarch.[1] His five successors, one or another, are accused of simony, neglect of native educational institutions, filling up the bishoprics with Ionians, exploiting the see for the use of their relatives abroad, intriguing with the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, and persecuting the Greek Catholics. Summing up, the indictment declares that instead of realizing the hopes of the Orthodox, and thus preventing the spread of schism, these six patriarchs, from 1728 [2] to 1850, through their abuse and cruelty, were the direct means of driving many of the Orthodox into the fold of the papacy, thus precipitating the official recognition by the Turkish Government of the Greek Catholics as members of an independent church.

The line of patriarchs, who besides being Ionians were also members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, began in 1850. According to custom, the Holy Synod at

[1] See page 91.

[2] Date of the recognition of Sylvestre by the Porte.

Damascus, on the death of the patriarch, requested the Holy Synod at Constantinople to appoint a certain Gregory, or failing him, any other desirable person. Thus Erotheos, a member of the brotherhood, who was reported to be of enormous wealth, was chosen by the Constantinople clergy, and accepted by the Holy Synod at Damascus, consisting at that time chiefly of Ionians. The contemptuous native account of the long rule of Erotheos, which lasted from 1850 to 1885, accuses him of all the faults and vices of his six Ionian predecessors, as well as of personal immorality. In fact the obviously exaggerated indictment overreaches itself in the final statement that during his patriarchate the Church of Antioch was disgraced, irreligion and immorality flourished everywhere, churches and schools were razed to the ground. "Had he lived longer," so the campaign document excitedly winds up, "the utter destruction of the church would have been certain." Stripped of its exaggeration, the account certainly reveals a very serious condition of misrule. Before the death of Erotheos, the laymen of Damascus, backed by the national party throughout the see, had determined to get rid of foreign control by working for a restoration of the *status quo ante*, with a purely native hierarchy from the patriarch down. Even in the worst days of Ionian rule, the Holy Synod had never lacked for one or two native bishops. In the struggle to secure the next patriarch, the native or "national" element, was beaten, so it alleges, by an intrigue, headed by Nicodemus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, assisted by his brother of Constantinople and by the Greek Government successfully supporting the candidacy of Gerasimos. This prelate was a cultivated man of gracious bearing and good scholarship, but his Greek blood, together with his membership in the brotherhood, made him *persona non grata* to the natives. The object of this intrigue was to persuade the Sublime Porte that the native element was working in the interests of Russian influence in the see. Russia has always been the bogie-man to dangle before the eyes of Turkey. To this day the cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" (if one may thus call the Russian bear) is the final resource employed to down an opponent. In 1891, Nicodemus fell

victim to this same cry. This time, however, it was raised against himself, forcing him to resign his see. Gerasimos was translated from the See of Antioch to that of Jerusalem, but from his new throne was instrumental in securing the election at Damascus of one Spiridon, also a member of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre. The "Constantinople," a Greek journal, exulted in the defeat of the "hot-headed Syrians," who, it maintained, actuated by pride and avarice, had tried to usurp the spiritual power. The Syrians, in turn, declared that Spiridon had bought the Patriarchate of Antioch cheap by a bargain with the nobles of Damascus. The charge of working in the interest of Russia they vehemently deny. There was no mistaking the note of genuine conviction in the voice of the Damascene gentleman who, in relating the events which I am about to chronicle—events in which he was a principal actor—repudiated the idea of subserviency to Russia. "Why change the rule of the Ionians for that of the Russians?" he asked. "Why run from the rain to seek refuge under the water-spout? We have made use of Russia, in permitting her to establish schools for our benefit, but with the exception of allowing one Russian priest to make an annual visit to confess and communicate members of the Russian church in our see, we do not allow a single Russian ecclesiastic or monk to set foot in the patriarchate!"

From the enthronement of Spiridon dates the final struggle between the two parties. It began immediately in a quarrel for the control of the "wakf," or church revenues. At first the Turkish Government stood behind the patriarch. At one time the people took to the old resort of boycotting the churches, assembling for service in the cemetery, which being consecrated ground was more suitable than a private house. Increasing in courage and solidarity, the national party held out against the strong combine of Greek Church and Turkish State, until, in 1896, some of the demands were granted. Two or three years later the laymen persuaded the governor (now brought over to their side) to permit the assembling of the Holy Synod to impeach the patriarch. The actual crisis was precipitated by an unwise act of Spiri-

don himself. In the summer of 1898 he granted to one of his flock, who was interpreter to the governor, a decree of divorce which appeared to the indignant Orthodox to be irregular. The long-smouldering rebellion broke into a blaze. The following day the people crowded into the cathedral, shouting: "We won't have a patriarch who gives such divorces!" Men seized on the ropes and tolled the great bell as for a funeral, while the crowd shouted: "Our patriarch is dead! Our patriarch is dead! We must have another!" Hard by in his palace, Spiridon heard the death-knell of his sovereignty. The uproar spread through the city, reaching the ears of the civil governor and the military commander, who immediately inferred that a revolution against the government had broken out. Revolution indeed it was, but ecclesiastical, not political. Together the two pachas hurried to the cathedral, entering, however, with no show of force. The civil governor demanded to know what was the matter, but was answered only by renewed cries: "Our patriarch is dead! He is against our religion!" Finally grasping the situation, he attempted to mediate between patriarch and people, hastening from cathedral to palace, from palace back to cathedral. Not until he gave his personal guarantee that the decree of divorce would be annulled were the people willing to disperse. But not yet did the patriarch understand their temper. With a fatuous stubbornness that predicted his downfall, he threatened to arrest two native priests who had omitted his name in the commemoration of the mass. They fled to the sanctuary of the cathedral, as it were to the very horns of the altar. To the cathedral at midnight came the patriarch's creatures, with a guard of Turkish soldiers; the former broke down the door and entered, the soldiers remained tentatively passive outside. A parley ensued, resulting in the surrender of the priests. "The sanctuary must not be defiled by Turkish soldiers," they said. "Rather we will go with you." At once the entire Christian quarter was aroused. By two o'clock six hundred Orthodox had gathered in the cathedral; by dawn the crowd numbered four thousand, including Christians of all sects, all shouting at the top of their voices. This

time they were not to be quieted, even when the governor brought back the priests who had been detained in the commander's room. Soon his excellency realized how far this ecclesiastical revolution had spread. His office was flooded with telegrams from the bishops, wanting to know what the matter was, demanding permission to come to settle it in conclave. This permission being received, one by one the bishops assembled in Damascus from the limits of the see.

As a condition of his official support of the popular party, the governor demanded and received from the leaders the promise that they would elect, as new patriarch, Germanus, Bishop of Tarsus, one of the four Ionian bishops, even though the Syrians by that time held a majority of the sees. That the national leaders knew what they were doing soon transpired. In the game of diplomacy that followed they scored at each turn, though candid admiration must be seasoned by candid acknowledgment of pretty sharp practice. The first business of the synod was to get rid of Spiridon, who in the meantime had fled to the Convent of Sedanaya to escape the dreaded examination of accounts. He, however, presently eliminated himself, proceeding to Constantinople, under the advice of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, who, counting on the people's promise, felt sure in any case of the continuance of Ionian control. The synod, then, resolving itself into an electoral body, named as patriarchal vicar, Germanus, upon whom the mantle of the fatuous Spiridon appears to have fallen. Now, in default of a recognized code of procedure for the election of patriarchs the national party had received official permission to follow in principle the Constantinople regulations. This was the first strategic gain, for, in the first place, it gave the laity a goodly number of votes, and, in the second place, it disqualified as candidates the three other Ionian bishops, whose tenure of their sees had not reached the required number of seven years. Angered at the trap in which they had allowed themselves to be caught, the three bishops left the conclave, followed most stupidly by Germanus, the presiding officer, who by sticking to the general Ionian cause threw away his own chances for the patriarchate. For, by

leaving the conclave on account of his objections to the officially endorsed regulations, he not only became *persona non grata* to the government, but by persisting in his refusal to return, after repeated warnings and requests, he accepted the position of forcing the only too-delighted conclave, now homogeneously Syrian, to elect another presiding officer, who was soon confirmed by the sultan!

Ionian control of the Patriarchate of Antioch was not abandoned without a sharp struggle. The other patriarchs, led by the Ecumenical patriarch, succeeded in blocking the proceedings at Damascus by presenting one technical objection after another to the Porte at Constantinople. As to the validity of their objections I claim to be no judge. It is sufficient to chronicle the triumph of the national leaders, who, after waiting for months for an authorization of candidates from Constantinople, executed a *coup d'état* by electing as patriarch one Malatios, a Syrian bishop, a man praised by his fellow-countrymen as being devoted to the interests of the church, but neither clever nor learned. The Porte was notified, and in four months the official confirmation arrived (1899). According to custom, the new patriarch wrote "letters of peace," announcing his election to the heads of the independent churches, receiving friendly answers from Russia, Servia, and Roumania, but none from Athens or the three other patriarchates. The official reason given for this refusal of recognition was that the election contravened the ecclesiastical canons as well as the prevailing customs of the See of Antioch. That racial feeling, however, played the strongest part was proved by the refusal of the same churches to recognize the election of Malatios's successor, which took place on June 5, 1906. That this was technically legal I have been assured by one of the Ionian prelates. Terms of reconciliation between the See of Antioch and the three patriarchates, sought as early as 1908, were finally agreed upon in 1910. The present Patriarch of Antioch, Gregorios, is a native of the Lebanon, said to be a preacher of eloquence and well versed in Arab history and the Moslem religion. An American missionary, for almost forty years resident in Syria, regards the successful out-

come of the long struggle of the natives to recapture the See of Antioch as the fruit of the growing independence and self-confidence of the Orthodox people, who, in the early days of his residence, did not consider the Ionian domination as pure evil, but freely acknowledged their need of some outside power to keep the church from disintegrating through the disputes of local factions.

The struggle between the native and Ionian parties in the See of Jerusalem did not reach an acute stage until the autumn of 1908, when the newly revived constitution awakened new hopes of independence and liberty in all branches of the people over the Turkish Empire. The native Syrians formulated a demand for certain church reforms, including the organization of a mixed assembly, lay and clerical, Ionian and native, authorized by the constitution of 1877 to control ecclesiastical affairs.[1] A similar body has been in operation at Constantinople for some years. To press their claims, the Orthodox natives elected a committee of forty. Pending government action upon these, the whole community of some five thousand souls went on a religious strike, boycotting the churches, which remained closed, while their priests conducted an occasional service in the Cemetery of Zion. The splendid rites of Holy Week and of Easter of 1909 and 1910 were unattended, save by the Ionians and foreigners. Meanwhile the patriarch, Damianus, having become *persona non grata* to the Holy Synod, was deposed by that body, who accused him, unofficially at

[1] Their demands, found in an open letter, published as an Arabic leaflet, were briefly as follows:

1. That the law should be enforced, giving the representatives of the people votes at the election of the patriarch. (They claim that for a long period their representatives have simply been allowed to be present, with no vote.) 2. That the regulations regarding the election of bishops be enforced. 3. That the native Syrians be granted admission to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, and thus be eligible to the higher ranks of the hierarchy. 4. That a mixed assembly of clergy, secular and regular, and of laymen be appointed to regulate temporal and spiritual affairs. 5. That all bishops be resident in their sees. 6. That Syrian pilgrims be entertained in the convent. (They admit that this last had been conceded, but they want "all or nothing.")

least, of favoring the native Syrians. These, then, espoused the deposed patriarch's cause, not because they believed he was any more favorable to themselves than was the synod, but because they held his deposition to be an infringement of their constitutional rights, as they had not been consulted in the matter. In the spring of that year there was presented in the Holy City a condition as topsy-turvy as it was scandalous. On one side of the narrow lane, crossed by the bridge connecting patriarchate and convent, were stationed two hundred armed Orthodox natives, assisted by a posse of Turkish soldiers in guarding a patriarch whom they refused to commemorate in their prayers. On the other side of the lane, the convent was picketed by a body of armed monks, reinforced by two hundred Turkish soldiers, and—so the story goes—by one hundred Cretans, dressed up as monks and armed to the teeth. For nine days the peace of Jerusalem was seriously disturbed by this recrudescence of the Middle Ages. A number of murders occurred. Investigation by a commission, headed by the governor of Syria, and sent by the Porte to inquire into the legality of the deposition of Damianus, resulted in his re-establishment on the throne. Patriarch and people, with great shouting and firing of guns, marched in procession to thank the pacha at his hotel. The prelatical ringleaders of the Ionian opposition were sent into exile, amid the execrations of some over-excited native Orthodox assembled at the station to witness their departure. The Holy Synod, perforce, accepted the ruling of the commission. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria dissented. Thus, at the close of the year 1909 the Orthodox Church in Syria and Palestine presented the following combinations: A Patriarch of Antioch not recognized by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jersualem, and Alexandria; a Patriarch of Jerusalem not acknowledged by the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria; a native Orthodox people triumphant in the See of Antioch; and, finally, a native Orthodox people in the See of Jerusalem still on religious strike, with closed churches, still demanding their share in the financial and spiritual control, still distrusting

the patriarch, whom they had helped to reinstate, and who, they declare, had not helped their cause one whit.

The report of the government committee at Constantinople in answer to the demands of the Syrians was made during the first half of the year 1910. On the face of it this was favorable to the national party, as it sanctioned the formation of the mixed assembly, and appeared also to sanction the admission of Syrians to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, and thus to higher clerical rank. The Syrians, however, by continuing to boycott the churches, evinced their scepticism as to the real intentions of the Ionians in control of the brotherhood to throw open the doors for their admission.[1] On the other hand, they began to feel some hope that by means of their influence in the newly constituted assembly the educational rights of their children might now at last be recognized. While thus in the summer of 1910 the Ionian and Syrian factions were still at variance in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the four Greek Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria had again become reconciled.

We must not leave this unhappy ecclesiastical quarrel, which naturally evokes considerable sympathy for the national party in Jersualem, without stating the contention of the leaders of the Ionian faction, which, in turn, presents its plausible side.[2] The Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, they declare, was founded for the preservation of the holy places: this is the burden of their whole argument. Native Syrians were at first admitted to its membership, thus becoming eligible to higher clerical rank; but later their exclusion was found to be necessary, because their loyal co-operation in the preservation of the holy places was sus-

[1] The churches at Jaffa and, I understand, at some other places which, though in the patriarchate, are not in the patriarch's own Episcopal See of Jerusalem, had been reopened before this. In such churches it is not necessary at the liturgy to commemorate the patriarch, but only the bishop of the diocese. In Jerusalem the people objected to commemorate their patriarch-bishop, whom, as president of the brotherhood, they regarded as responsible for their exclusion.

[2] The Ionian position was stated by a dignitary of the convent in a private interview in 1909.

pected. Could their loyalty be assured, they would be readmitted at once. They have, however, shown in several ways that they cannot be trusted. Holy places, formerly turned over to them, were either neglected or given to the Latins. When appointed to the higher positions in the church, their ecclesiastics have intrigued with Russia, whose programme, in charge of the Imperial Society of Palestine, is to get control of the holy places. To this end it stirred up national feelings which had not been active before. Russia, they still declare, made the first Syrian Patriarch of Antioch. Another reason for the exclusion of the natives from control is that they might yield to the temptation of appropriating moneys of the church for the benefit of their relatives living on the spot, a temptation far less strong in the case of foreign monks, who nevertheless have sometimes yielded to it. They acknowledge that the convent, which is the head-quarters of the brotherhood, has often failed in performing its duties, and this for many reasons, notably such as naturally arise from government conditions. They are eager to establish a *modus vivendi* by which the natives might enjoy their just rights, but these can never include financial control. The reason for withholding this is simple but cogent; the Syrians contribute nothing toward the revenues of the see, which, coming from foreign sources, should be under foreign control. Among the monks are representatives of all the lands from which the revenue comes. On the contrary, while the natives contribute nothing, they receive much. Of the revenue of the convent, which is only sixty thousand napoleons (two hundred and forty thousand dollars) annually, one-quarter is spent on the care of the holy places, etc., three-quarters being devoted to the good of the see. Seventeen thousand napoleons (sixty-eight thousand dollars) a year are spent on the Orthodox in Jerusalem, who receive bread twice a week gratis, house rent (ranging from ten to thirty napoleons), the amount of their military taxes, the salaries of their priests, and the education of their children. The balance of the forty-five thousand napoleons is spent on the rest of the see.

In regard to this matter of education, as in other dis-

crepant statements, we must point the reader back to the contention of the Syrians, who declare that, as a matter of fact, their own children are excluded from the higher schools. As to the income of the convent, they maintain the whole financial system to be so rotten that no one knows whence it comes or whither it goes. The controversy plainly has two sides. It is in effect a controversy between a wealthy corporation, determined to keep control of the funds which it has been the means of collecting, but also using its power to control ecclesiastical legislation outside of its own immediate jurisdiction, and the people who undoubtedly benefit by it, but who, as undoubtedly, have lost many of their rights because of its dominating influence.

III. The Jacobite or Old Syrian Church

The ecclesiastical body which we are now about to consider is known to the outside world by two names: the Jacobite Church and the Old Syrian Church; but the members themselves dislike the former title. Both names serve to distinguish it from the Syrian Catholics. Its headquarters are at the monastery Deir-ez-Zaʻferân, near Mardîn, which became the seat of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, in the eleventh century.[1] The bulk of the old Syrians inhabit Mesopotamia, only about one-tenth being found in Syria. Of the total number in the Turkish Empire widely varying estimates are made. Parry notes the ignorance of the patriarch in regard to the number of his flock,[2] but estimates the Turkish subjects under his control as being somewhere between one hundred and fifty thousand and two hundred thousand.[3] With this estimate that of Tozer agrees.[4] Parry states, however, that the number of Jacobites in Syria proper, "in the villages scattered about Ḥums and Damascus," is ten thousand,[5] which is only about half

[1] "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," p. 300, by O. H. Parry (London, 1895).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[4] "The Church and the Eastern Empire," p. 80, by H. B. Tozer.

[5] *Vide supra*, p. 345.

the estimate of nineteen thousand given at the beginning of our chapter. On the other hand, Huber, as quoted by de Jehay,[1] places the total number in the Turkish Empire at only one hundred thousand. At Ḥums I was told there are four thousand or five thousand. At Ḥama there are but four hundred or five hundred. Parry places the old Syrian population of Ṡudud (the ancient Zedad, the northern boundary of the Promised Land) at three thousand. In Damascus the Syrians are mostly Catholics. There, some years since, I had an interview with the well-known scholar, the late Joseph David, Syrian-Catholic bishop, in the well-stocked library of his spacious mansion, which later I was able to contrast with the meagerly furnished upper room occupied by the shabbily dressed priest of the Jacobite Church, who bitterly declared that the Syrian Catholics, in going over to the pope, had stolen all the church property of the Jacobites! Conditions are similar at Aleppo, where the Jacobite Church is said to be a poor affair in comparison with the churches of all the other communions. In Mesopotamia itself, poverty characterizes the community. Schools are of the most primitive type. The Jacobites are represented in Palestine by one hundred and fifty to two hundred households in Bethlehem, and by some ten households in the Holy City. Most of the men in both places are masons. In Jerusalem a Jacobite bishop presides over a convent, with four resident monks.[2] In communion with the Jacobite Church, and thus under the nominal control of its patriarch, are the non-Catholic Syrians in Malabar and Ceylon, Nestorian in origin, estimated at three hundred and thirty thousand souls. Of these we shall speak later.

The official title of the Jacobite patriarch is: "Exalted Patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch and of all the Jacobite Churches in Syria and the East." It has been stated that the patriarch must be elected by unanimous vote of all the people. However, a young man who has

[1] "De la Situation Légale des Sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans, par le comte de Jehay," p. 37.

[2] See article, "The Syrian (Jacobite) Patriarch in Jerusalem," by the Jerusalem correspondent of "The Living Church," September 26, 1908.

acted as secretary to the present patriarch informs me that the election is now solely in the hands of the bishops. The patriarch always assumes the name Ignatius. Tozer says: "Though this custom arose at the end of the sixteenth century, there can be little doubt that the name is derived from that of the saint who was the first bishop of Antioch."[1] When chaplain to his predecessor, the present patriarch visited England, where he was cordially received by Archbishop Benson and other Anglican dignitaries. On state occasions he wears a black silk robe over a purple soutane, two heavy gold chains, one with pectoral cross, rubies and diamonds massively set, and one with a medallion.[2]

The Jacobite Church recognizes a unique dignitary called 'Mafrian, theoretically a sort of suffragan-patriarch, to represent the patriarch in the Far East, Persia, and Arabia, as primate or catholicos. The title has become purely honorary,[3] but in early times the mafrian consecrated bishops, blessed the chrism or holy oil, and enjoyed other patriarchal privileges. According to Parry the designations Mutran' and Is'qof (properly applying to metropolitan and bishop, respectively) have a curious use in the Syrian Church. He states that the bishops are divided into two classes, those chosen from among the monks, called mutrans, and those chosen from the parish priests who are widowers, called isqofs. These latter rank below the mutrans, and are not eligible to the patriarchate.[4] This puts a premium on celibacy in the Syrian Church, which is not found in the Orthodox Church, where, as we have seen, a widower may become patriarch. The Syrian bishops wear a large round head-dress, upon a card or canvas frame, covered with black cloth in five folds.[5] The Maronite clergy, including the parish priests, used to wear a similar head-gear, but it is now rather out of fashion. The Syrian bishops wear

[1] "The Church and the Eastern Empire," *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[2] Article in "The Living Church," *op. cit.*
[3] At present no one holds it.
[4] "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," *op. cit.*, p. 318.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

neither mitre nor ring, but carry a staff topped with two serpents.[1]

The parish priests must be married before they can be ordained. Those who become widowers are usually expected to retire to a monastery, as the services of a celibate are not wanted by the people. In striking contrast to the long-haired Greek clergy, the Jacobite priests should keep their heads closely shaved, but a beard must be worn. The title of Chorepiscopus, or Country Bishop, which disappeared in the West early in the Middle Ages, survives among the lower clergy of the Syrian communions, including the Maronites. Among the Jacobites to-day it is usually given to the leading priest of a town, whose position is something like that of an Anglican rural dean.[2] He outranks the other priests, but is subordinate to the bishop of the diocese. Khuri, the ordinary term for parish priest in Arabic, is supposed to be an echo of the term chorepiscopus.

Among the Syrians, the term Shemmas (deacon) is commonly applied not only to the archdeacon, the deacon proper, and the subdeacon, but also to the singers and readers.[3] This practice appears to be a survival from primitive times when no emphasis was laid upon the distinction between the "Ordines Majores" and the "Ordines Minores."[4] All play an important part in the active life of the Syrian churches to-day, both Jacobite and Catholic. All proudly refer to themselves as deacons. No city should contain more than one archdeacon, but a large church may possess (say) eight deacons, six subdeacons, and some fifty readers and singers. The two lower orders may be held by mere boys.[5] In case of all but the lowest (singers), ordination

[1] For a list of the episcopal sees consult Appendix.

[2] This comparison is made by Parry, p. 325.

[3] The lower orders appear to be filled in the Coptic Church also. A young Copt told me that he had been regularly ordained, at the age of ten, as an acolyte, under the general name of shemmas, or deacon.

[4] See article, "Ordines," in the new Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.

[5] My information in regard to this is conclusive, the numbers quoted being an estimate for the churches of Mardin and Mosul. Parry, however, declares (page 326) that the lower orders of the "Psaltes, the reader and the hypodiaconus, are almost obsolete."

must be administered by the bishop, who clips off a bit of hair from the candidate, returning it to him in a paper. Though not in priest's orders, the archdeacon may say mass by especial order of the bishop. However, this order appears to be lapsing in the Jacobite Church, and is not recognized by the Syrian Catholics. The deacon proper is called in Arabic Shemmas' Anji'li, as he reads the Gospels. He may marry before his ordination to this degree, but is "unfrocked," as it were, by marriage afterward. Many remain full deacons all their lives, without passing to the priesthood, but during the week carry on their ordinary business. The Shemmas Anjili figures prominently in the church services. He prepares the holy bread, swings the censer, passes on the kiss of peace to the people from the sanctuary,[1] communes in both kinds separately, drinking from the cup, and sometimes gives the holy elements from the priest's hands to the people. During the celebration all "deacons," including the singers, wear white surplices, with gayly decorated stoles. These are worn "with a difference"; thus the archdeacon wears his over the right shoulder, the reader, in the form of a cross. All who take part in the sanctuary or chancel should wear a girdle. "The celebrant wears a special alb, with colored girdle, and over this a chasuble split down the front and fastened at the neck by large silver buckles. Over the sleeves of this alb he wears long richly embroidered gauntlets, and over his head he draws from time to time the top part of a veil, that hangs over his back like a kind of amice. He has on his head besides this only a skull-cap of the same sort as generally worn under the turban, but more richly embroidered with white crosses on black ground. Under the chasuble he wears an undivided stole, like a scapular, and on his feet the yellow shoes always exchanged within the sanctuary for the usual black or red ones."[2]

A large number of Syrians, estimated at about four hundred and forty thousand, have their head-quarters at St. Thomas, on the Malabar coast, being found also in

[1] See page 137

[2] Parry's "Syrian Monastery," *op. cit.*, p. 346.

Ceylon.[1] They owe their existence to the missionary zeal which distinguished the Nestorian communion in the sixth century, when a portion of the native population of Malabar was assimilated. One-quarter of these now acknowledge papal supremacy. The old party may be said to be linked with our subject, as their bishops now receive ordination from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, or from his representatives.[2] This practice began in 1665, when, cut off from communion with their own Nestorian Catholicos in Mesopotamia, they turned to the Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem, who opportunely appeared among them. As a matter of fact, in many cases ordination continued to be irregularly conducted, often without reference to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. About the middle of the last century the question of supremacy of this prelate over the Syrian Church of India gave rise to ten years of litigation, ending in the triumph of the suzerain power.[3] The question, however, has been recently reopened, one party in the Malabar church (which contains some highly educated men) demanding "home rule." As this volume goes to press the Jacobite patriarch has not yet returned from a long visit to Malabar, where he went to assert his authority in person. Two years before the early submission to the Jacobites, in 1665, there was a split among the Malabar Syrians, a large number, under the name of Palayacoor, or the Old Community, definitely refusing to submit any longer to the claims of the Roman See, which were as definitely acknowledged by the minority under the name of Puthencoor, or the New Community. The descendants of the papal adherents to-day are said to number some one hundred and ten thousand, or only one-third as many as the Palayacoor. They do not form an organic part of the

[1] See "The Greek and Eastern Churches," p. 530, by W. F. Adeney, a volume of the International Theological Library.

[2] See also article in "The Living Church," September 26, 1908, "The Syrian (Jacobite) Patriarch in Jerusalem." "In his suite were also . . . Syrian monks from Malabar, southern India, who receive episcopal consecration at the hands of the patriarch."

[3] W. F. Adeney, *op. cit.*, pp. 530–533.

Chaldean or United Nestorian Church, but are governed directly by three apostolic vicars.

The Nestorians of the near East do not come strictly under our purview, as they have no connection with Syria or Palestine. They do not now use this name, but call themselves Chaldeans, Syrians, or simply Christians. They are found on the eastern confines of Turkey, but are chiefly grouped in the mountains of Kurdistan, in Persia proper, and on the plains north of Mosul, with colonies in Mosul itself and in Diarbekir. As they represent, however, a most primitive form of Christianity, we may add a word about them. Their head-quarters are a remote and rugged valley in Kurdistan, on the banks of the Greater Zab.[1] Here in a village called Kochannes dwells their patriarch. Their numbers are estimated at one hundred thousand. The Persian branch, estimated at from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand members, formally joined the Orthodox Church of Russia in 1898.[2] Since 1450 the patriarchal dignity has been hereditary, passing from uncle to nephew, not according to age, but following the choice of the family. The candidate must be a celibate. Not only should he never have eaten meat, but his mother should have followed a vegetarian diet during her pregnancy and nursing. The episcopate, too, is quasi-hereditary, and Nestorian bishops of twelve years and younger may be found. Priests may marry even after ordination. It is clear that the Roman Church, in forming a united branch under the name of Chaldeans out of this communion, found much to "reform" in faith and practice.

[1] See "The Church and the Eastern Empire," *op. cit.*, p. 77. Compare "De la Situation Légale des Sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans, par le comte de Jehay," pp. 32–33.

[2] See article, "Nestorians," in the "New International Encyclopedia." According to other estimates the number of perverts is much less.

IV. The Uniates

In any survey of the divisions in the church universal three crucial centuries stand out clearly: the fifth, the eleventh, and the sixteenth. The fifth century saw the entering wedge of schism, affecting, however, only outlying portions of the church, though affecting these permanently. The eleventh saw a definite cleavage in the main body, between the Eastern and Western branches. The sixteenth saw the split in the Western church, resulting in the formation of the various Protestant bodies. The early unity of the church, which, in spite of many heresies and some minor temporary schisms, had remained practically intact, was impaired in the fifth century by the secession of the Syrian-Nestorian body, the first organized of the heretical churches which split off by reason of dissent from the decisions of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. In the next century followed the Syrian-Jacobite, Coptic, and Armenian schisms, while the Monothelite Maronites appear to have been well organized by the close of the seventh century. The two Syrian churches, alone, at one time threatened to outrank the main body of Christians, in numbers if not in influence, but any fear of such rivalry was allayed by the decline of the powerful Nestorian communion in the eleventh century. In the meantime the original church had remained united, though forming two branches, one in the East, with the four independent Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, and the other in the West, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. In the eyes of the Eastern prelates the Roman dignitary was but the patriarch of the West (a title still borne by the holy father), *primus inter pares* in relation to themselves. Such, indeed, was their theory, as over against the claims to papal supremacy, advanced as early as the fifth century and growing more arrogant, though still vague, until they were definitely formulated in the pontificate of Nicholas I (858–867), who recognized as genuine the celebrated false decretals, asserting the

doctrine on the testimony of forged documents, purporting to be letters and decisions of the early bishops of Rome. Notwithstanding their theoretic attitude of independence, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, often rivals of the popes, did in sporadic cases, when it suited their convenience, lend countenance to the papal claims by appeals to the judgment and authority of the occupants of the Roman See, especially in regard to the iconoclastic controversy, which threatened to split the Eastern church between the years 726 and 842.

The final breach between the East and the West, seriously threatened in the ninth century under the leadership of Photios, Ecumenical patriarch, became actual in 1054, when Leo X was pope and Michael Cerularius was Patriarch of Constantinople. The council then held at the Eastern capital by request of the emperor, Constantine Monomachus, and intended to adjust differences, which by that time included many matters besides the papal supremacy,[1] came to nothing. The patriarch definitely refused to submit to the pope's authority, while the papal delegates, before departing in anger, laid upon the altar of Saint Sophia a terrible sentence of anathema on Michael and his followers. The definite nature of the split is illustrated in the crusading period by two contemporary lines of patriarchs over the Sees of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem, respectively, the one Greek, the other Latin. On the other hand, this period witnessed the beginnings of one permanent return to Rome, when in 1182 the Monothelite Maronites acknowledged their errors to the Latin Patriarch of Antioch. Various attempts at reconciliation between the two main branches of the church were made, with only brief results. The last found voice at the Councils of Ferrara and Florence, held in 1438–1439. At the closing scenes of the Council of Florence an act of union of the Eastern and Western churches was signed, notwithstanding the fierce opposition of the party led by Mark, Bishop of Ephesus.

[1] Besides the chief points of difference—the procession of the Holy Spirit or filioque clause, the papal supremacy, the azyma, purgatory, and the enforced celibacy of the clergy—such minor matters as the beards of the priests were included.

But Rome scored only a paper victory. It was never carried into effect. The document was not even signed by the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, prelates intimately concerned in the matter. Paper victory though it was, the Council of Florence furnished a powerful argument for the Roman propaganda to recover portions of the lost adherents.[1]

Roman Catholic missionary activity among the Eastern churches was stimulated by the failure of the Council of Florence, was further increased by the founding of the Society of the Jesuits in 1543, and was definitely organized under the Propaganda of the Faith, established in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV. The work of proselytizing, or, from the Roman point of view, the work of restoring to the mother church, was directed not only toward the "schismatical" Greek Church, but toward the "heretical" national churches, whose dissent from the decisions of one or another of the general councils placed them in a different category from that of the Greek Church, which accepted them all. The policy adopted in all cases was by preaching Catholic doctrine to honeycomb a given church until, through individual conversions, a sufficient number of adherents, lay and clerical, warranted the formation of a separate body, with the name Catholic added to the original name. Such churches share the general name of Uniats or Uniates. It has always been assumed that any given union with Rome constitutes an actual reunion, a return to an early allegiance that had been forsworn when the original schism was effected. This was strongly brought out in 1599 at the Synod of Diamper, which was convened "for the increase of Catholic faith among the Syrians of Malabar," and which claimed to put an end to a separation which had lasted over a thousand years.[2] The basis of union has ever been submission to papal authority and acceptance of Catholic doctrine. In

[1] Before the Turkish occupation in 1453 nine ruptures and renewals of relations between the Sees of Rome and Constantinople have been counted. The first lasted ninety-three years, from 489 to 582; it was concerned with matters of jurisdiction, not of dogma.

[2] "The Greek and Eastern Churches," by W. F. Adeney, p. 529.

return for this double allegiance, the following concessions have usually been made by Rome, with such modifications as the main basis of union necessitated: government by the local hierarchy under papal supervision; retention by a given church of its ritual in the sacred language or vernacular of that church, together with its ecclesiastical customs and traditions; permission for a married priesthood. This last-named concession is not inconsistent with the historic attitude of Rome toward the celibacy of the clergy. This is not a matter of doctrine, which is immutable, but of discipline, which is subject to regulation. While maintaining that continence is a more holy state than matrimony, and that celibacy is especially desirable for the clergy, the Roman church has not felt herself absolutely bound to impose it on her ministers at all times and places, nor has she always done so. As early as the fourth century attempts were made in the Western church to secure an unmarried clergy; but even as late as the eleventh century synods found it necessary to pronounce the marriage of persons in holy orders not only unlawful but invalid. Toleration toward the Uniats in this matter is thus justified by a similar toleration toward the Western clergy in earlier days.

As a rule each united church is governed by its own local hierarchy, under the supervision of an apostolic vicar or delegate, representing the Congregation of the Propaganda. Since 1890 the Apostolic Vicar of Aleppo has been resident in Beyrout, bearing also the title of Apostolic Delegate in Syria for the Orientals. Under his general jurisdiction, thus, are placed the Maronites, the Greek Catholics, the Syrian Catholics, and the Armenian Catholics found in Syria. His position as between the local ecclesiastics on the one side and the Turkish Government on the other is delicate. Being necessarily a foreign subject, he does not share with the Oriental patriarchs, nominally under his care, the privilege of direct communication with the Porte, nor can he exercise the civil or administrative functions which they enjoy. His duties technically require him to be present at the actual election of the Greek Catholic

patriarch, but as the Porte objects to this on the ground of foreign interference in a matter over which it exercises a certain amount of control, he must practically content himself with attending the ceremonies, preceding and succeeding. The election of any united patriarch must have the confirmation both of the Porte and of Rome. Members of the united churches may, for their own advantage, play patriarch and delegate off against each other. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the Maronite monks of the Congregation of the Libnanîyeh or Beladîyeh withdrew from the jurisdiction of the patriarch, placing themselves under the protection of the delegate. It is said, however, that repentance soon followed this change of allegiance when the delegate attempted to dictate in the election of the abbott-general. The power of the delegate appears to have greatly grown since 1852, when Churchill wrote of his influence among the Maronites as being slight, and referred to the despotic authority of the patriarch, against which there was no appeal. Every Maronite enjoys to-day the right of final appeal to Rome. A long-standing quarrel between the nobles and people of Rishmaya, in the Lebanon, arising from the insistence of the sheikhs on their alleged rights to bury their dead in the parish church, was settled at Rome in favor of the people.

Papal authority in Jerusalem and Palestine is exercised by a line of Latin patriarchs, re-established as a local institution in 1847. As the united bodies are very sparsely represented in the Holy Land proper, the jurisdiction of the patriarch is chiefly extended over the Latin community of a few thousand members, consisting of Europeans, of native descendants of the Crusaders, and of other natives whose ancestors were Maronites. The custody of the holy places of Palestine is in the hands of the Franciscans, whose immunities, granted by the Mameluke sultans, are honored by the Ottomans.

The first papal missionary work on a large scale among the Eastern churches appears to have been that conducted among the Nestorians of Malabar, to which reference has

been made in this and in the previous section. In its early labors the papal see made certain demands of conformity to Roman practice which it learned later to abandon. Thus, at the Synod of Diamper (1599), not only was celibacy made binding on the Malabar Catholic clergy, but priests already married were required to divorce their wives. The Malabar Catholic Church is at present governed directly by three resident apostolic vicars, sent from Rome, and thus is not organically connected either with the Syrian Chaldean Church, formed by a split among the Nestorians of the near East, or with the Syrian Catholic Church, derived from the Jacobite Church, to which the non-united Syrians of Malabar are now nominally subject. The term Chaldean was applied to individual converts from this body as early as 1445, soon after the Council of Florence. At this council a closer papal union with the Maronites was effected. The present line of Nestorian Catholic or Chaldean patriarchs of Babylon began in 1681, but previously there had been individual patriarchs who acknowledged papal authority. The beautiful Armenian Catholic Convent at Venice witnesses to the zeal of Mechitar, a pervert from the Armenian Church, who became active at the very beginning of the eighteenth century in trying to reconcile the Armenian Church to the papal see. The establishment of the Armenian Catholic Community at Constantinople was not accomplished without a bitter struggle with the old Gregorian Armenians. The Porte took first one side and then the other, issuing decrees of banishment against the papal missionaries and the old Armenians alternately. For many years the new community was under the spiritual jurisdiction of a Latin archbishop, but owing to pressure from the French Government the Porte in 1829 finally authorized ecclesiastical autonomy under a chief styled Patriarch of Cilicia.[1] The Coptic Catholic Church, formed in 1732, has a patriarch resident in Alexandria. The united Abyssinians are subject to a Latin apostolic vicar, resident among them.

[1] A valuable account of the formation of the Roman Catholic Armenian community may be found in the "Turkish Empire," vol. II, pp. 133–152, by R. R. Madden (London, 1862).

Of the Uniat bodies represented in Syria, the Syrian Catholics, the Greek Catholic Melchites, and the Maronites, the two last are practically local churches, with centres in Syria itself. The head of the Syrian Catholics, however, though styled Patriarch of Antioch, has his residence at Mardin. The present line of patriarchs began in 1783, as a result of the Roman propaganda which had been going on among the Jacobites for some time.[1] The Syrian Catholic patriarch is elected by the bishops alone. Before he can be enthroned he must be confirmed first by the Porte and then by Rome. How the Syrian Uniat community overshadows the Jacobite, both at Damascus and Aleppo, has been already indicated. In the heart of the Maronite district, Kesrouan, in the Lebanon, is the Syrian Catholic monastery of Deir-esh-Sherfi, the seat of a theological training-school. A similar school for the instruction of candidates for the Syrian Catholic priesthood is under the charge of the Benedictine monastery, situated on the so-called Mount of Offence, east of Jerusalem.

The split in the Orthodox communion which gave rise to two contemporary lines of patriarchs of Antioch, each following the Greek rite, the one called Greek Orthodox, the other Greek Catholic Melchite, dates from 1724. This definite schism was but the culmination of a Roman Catholic propaganda which began as early as 1583, when the pope, Sixtus V, sent a delegate to the East to seek for terms of union which might be more successful than those proposed almost a century and a half before at the Council of Florence. This embassy was a failure. But what direct diplomacy could not effect was brought about, at least partially, by the quiet and persistent work of Roman Catholic missionaries, thoroughly organized, by the middle of the seventeenth century. Jesuit and Capuchin fathers, highly trained for the work, were domiciled among the simple Syrians, whom they gradually acquainted with the ideas and principles of the Roman Church. By force of a

[1] A sketch of the papal propaganda among the Syrians may be found in "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," by O. H. Parry, pp. 301 *ff*. Compare with page 75 of this present work.

genuine conviction of the righteousness of their cause; by assuming authority to relax the system of Greek fasts, whose number and rigidity far exceeds Western practice; by throwing their influence at the right moment, this way or that, in local disputes concerning the election to ecclesiastical office; as well as by any means which a subtle knowledge of human nature might suggest, they succeeded in converting or perverting to Rome numbers of laity and clergy. The see became honeycombed with papal adherents. Even patriarchs connived at the propaganda, while by 1686 four bishops had actually sent in their submission to Rome.[1]

The ecclesiastical history of the half century preceding the schism of 1724 shows passages of genuine melodrama. Here is a bewildering succession of intrigue and counter-intrigue: two rival patriarchs of Antioch, Cyril and Athanasius, backed in turn by the Porte, alternately ousting each other from the see; popes of Rome, Circassian janissaries, members of the Holy Synod at Constantinople, all taking a hand in the game; bribery freely used and acknowledged; sudden imprisonment followed by dramatic release; and, finally, a cynical compromise between the two prelates, now both advanced in years, by which Cyril keeps the throne, sharing its revenues with Athanasius, who is promised the right of succession. Out of this welter of events a few facts emerge with tolerable clearness.[2] The papal see had but a single aim, namely, to get control of the Patriarchate of Antioch, and thus favored alternately both of the rival claimants, according as each might show ability to further the cause. Both Cyril and Athanasius were determined to

[1] See Dr. Wortabet's chapter on the Greek Catholic Church in his "Religion in the East" (London, 1860).

[2] The story of this stormy period is told in a highly partisan spirit in two separate sets of chronicles (found in Arabic MSS. in the library of the American Presbyterian Mission at Beyrout). The Orthodox chronicler is one Bureik, who brings his account down to 1792. The Greek Catholic chronicles are dated 1758, and are by the Rev. Yuhanna Ajaimeh, who calls his work "The Book of the History of the Sect [Tayyafeh] in Explanation of the Affairs of the Patriarchate of Antioch."

hold the throne at any price. Each was controlled by ambition rather than by conviction. Each vacillated between Orthodox and Catholic allegiance. Cyril, indeed, after the compromise which gave him the throne for life, formally presented his submission to the pope in a letter sent to Rome along with his crozier, but apparently he never frankly declared in Damascus for the Catholic position. The tergiversations of Athanasius were even more remarkable. Before Cyril's death, in 1720, he had appeared to be the more Catholic of the two, but finding himself once more patriarch, he proceeded to Constantinople, where he put under the ban the whole Western church, and promised the Holy Synod to persecute the Catholics on his return to his see. Once back in his old domains, however, he repudiated the Constantinople promises, at the same time defending these as the only means by which imminent danger was averted from the Catholics themselves. And yet on his death-bed, four years later, he refused to make a Catholic confession to the Jesuit fathers.

The death of Athanasius gave the Catholic party a chance to elect a candidate whose adhesion to the cause was unequivocal. About the same time members of the Orthodox party, doubtless suspicious of the fidelity of any local candidate, sought to strengthen their greatly enfeebled cause by delegating their rights to the Synod of Constantinople, which elected as Patriarch of Antioch one Sylvestre, an "Ionian" Bishop of Cyprus, Greek by blood and speech. How this intrusion of a foreign element changed the whole complexion of the hierarchy of the Orthodox See of Antioch for about one hundred and seventy-five years, when the native element again came into full control, has been shown in a former section. Of the election of Seraphîm Tanas, the Greek Catholic candidate for the throne, two widely differing accounts were early circulated. The Greek Catholics declare that it was conducted with perfect legality by order of the governor of Damascus, and that Seraphîm was ordained as Cyril IV in the Damascus Cathedral by three bishops, one of whom had been especially consecrated, so that the canonical number of three might be present.

The Greek chronicler asserts that the governor was bribed, while the ordination was most irregularly and informally conducted by a Capuchin father. The tale of the same writer regarding the manner of the consecration of Seraphîm as bishop, which took place at some time previous, appears on the face of it to be widely improbable, even for those feudal times, though the cautious Dr. Wortabet credits it "with a considerable appearance of historical veracity."[1] According to this legend, the priest Seraphîm engaged the powerful interest of the Emir Ḣeidar Shehaab, a Mohammedan chieftain of the Lebanon, who coerced three bishops of Catholic proclivities to take Seraphîm off for consecration. The party was driven by storm into a cave, where all were plied with wine by the emir's servants, who threatened to kill the bishops unless they carried out the chief's orders then and there. Whereupon the prelates, terrified and half intoxicated, proceeded to consecrate Tanas, addressing him at the same time with the extra-canonical words: "O thou excommunicate! Abhorred of God, and full of evil!"

Such a story, whatever its basis, serves to indicate the fierce and bitter nature of the controversy between the Orthodox and Catholic parties in the See of Antioch. Discredit is thrown on the consecration of other Greek Catholic bishops by further tales of the Greek chronicler, who would thus seek to disprove the validity of the rival priesthood in general. The struggle for the throne of Antioch between Cyril VI and Sylvestre followed many of the methods of the previous contest between Cyril V and Athanasius, but differed from it in that the contestants now unequivocally represented the two rival parties. It would be idle to follow the details of the struggle. The outcome was the recognition of Sylvestre by the Porte in 1728, and the consequent exile of Cyril from Damascus, where he had held the throne for over three years. Sylvestre signalized his triumph by a violent persecution of the Catholics, which led to his own expulsion from the see. This was only temporary, and in 1731 he seems to have been secure on the throne. His ar-

[1] "Religion in the East," foot-note on pp. 82–83.

rogance and tactlessness did much to widen the breach which it was hoped he might heal. Cyril, who had settled in Lebanon, was acknowledged as rightful Greek Patriarch of Antioch by the pope in 1730, receiving the pallium from Rome three years later.[1] Before his death, in 1760, he had organized the Greek Catholics, who by this time were very numerous, into a separate community, with a distinct hierarchy of their own. In the eyes of the Porte, however, the sect continued to be under Orthodox jurisdiction till 1831, when it was officially associated with the Armenian Catholic community. Since 1848 the government has recognized the Greek Catholic patriarch as representing a separate body. The full name of the communion, Greek Catholic Melchite, is due to the revival of an early title applied in the fifth century to that party in the Patriarchate of Antioch, which accepted the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, promulgated by the Emperor Marcion. Melchites, then, constituted the king's party, as over against the Mardaites, or Rebels, who persisted in heresy. After the Arab conquest the term was used to describe the Syrian Greeks in general, but later became obsolete.

By the schism of 1724 the Orthodox community of the Patriarchate of Antioch was greatly weakened. Writing of the Greek Catholics as late as 1860, Dr. Wortabet declared: "In Aleppo, Damascus, Sidon, and Tyre they decidedly predominate over all other Christian sects in number, wealth, and influence. The most intelligent men in Syria, those whose views are most liberal, are found in this communion."[2] In the last fifty years the status of the Greek Orthodox and of the Maronites has risen, so that such a comparison no longer holds true, but the Greek Catholics continue to form a body of much influence in the Lebanon and elsewhere.

The two Greek communions in Syria take two diametrically opposed views of church history. Though each calls the other schismatic, each regards its own patriarch as the direct descendant of Saint Peter, the founder of the see,

[1] Jehay (*op. cit.*) dates the sending of the pallium at 1744.

[2] "Religion in the East," pp. 84–86.

through a chain which is identical up to 1724. The Orthodox hold that before the great schism of 1054, notwithstanding the growing pretensions of the Bishop of Rome to supremacy, the four patriarchs of the East had remained independent of the patriarch of the West, as well as of each other. This independence was naturally accentuated by the great schism. Accordingly they maintain that the split of 1724 was caused by the desertion of such members of the Orthodox Church as yielded to the unlawful claims of the Roman See. The Greek Catholics declare that from the rise of the church to the middle of the ninth century, the entire Greek communion was perfectly Catholic, acknowledging the pope as its head. The schismatic movement which began with Photios in 848, which culminated in the definite schism of 1054, and which continued to persist, notwithstanding the attempted reconciliation at the Council of Florence in 1439, at no period prevented many individuals in the Orthodox Church from acknowledging their allegiance to Rome. Thus there has always been a distinctly Catholic party in the See of Antioch, which from time to time has included even patriarchs among its numbers. The open submission of Cyril VI to the pope was but the official acknowledgment of a claim which had ever been valid, but which had been denied for many centuries by the Patriarchate of Antioch as a whole. Thus from the Greek Catholic point of view the schism of 1724 effected the restoration to Rome of the ancient church founded at Antioch by Saint Peter.

By this assumption the Greek Catholics claim a unique position among the Uniat bodies. They regard the Syrian Catholic and Maronite Patriarchs of Antioch as possessing merely courtesy titles. "National dignitaries, recognized as such by Rome," so a learned Greek Catholic archimandrite described them in a recent conversation. This contention has doubtless been responsible for the conservatism shown by the sect in refusing to adopt most of those Western customs which in late times the Maronites have so easily assimilated, although the Maronite Church was not only purely Eastern in origin, but continued to remain

so for some centuries after the union with Rome. For almost a century and a quarter after the submission of their patriarch to the pope, the Greek Catholics continued to follow the Eastern calendar, thus observing the fixed feasts twelve days later than the Roman church, with which they were supposed to be in full communion, and, celebrating Easter also at a different date, save on such rare occasions when the movable feasts of the paschal week happened to coincide. The sudden order issued by the patriarch in 1857 to his bishops, commanding them to enforce the celebration of Easter at the same time with the Latins, threatened to disrupt the Greek Catholic communion. This order involved the adoption of the whole Roman calendar. Two parties were at once formed: one in support of the patriarch, the other in defiant rebellion. This controversy troubled the peace of the Greek Catholic Church for a number of years. The seceders secured two churches in Beyrout and Damascus, with the intention of establishing a new rite under the name of Oriental Greeks, but in 1865 they decided to follow the example of the Syrian and Armenian Catholics and of the Maronites, and joined the patriarch's party in celebrating Easter of that year according to the Roman calendar.[1]

This concession to Western practice, however, has not altered the essential Eastern character of the Greek Catholic Church. Members of the local hierarchy jealously guard against attempts at encroachment on their rights which they suspect the Jesuits and other Latin orders of entertaining. Their theology is tridentine, but not so their discipline and ritual. The two Greek communions use practically the same service books, though the Greek Catholics have slightly altered some of the prayers. A Roman Catholic would find it hard to detect any difference, as between the two Greek communions, in the interior arrangement of churches, in the conduct of services, and in the ordinary appearance and ecclesiastical vestments of the clergy. Differences there are, but covering minor matters

[1] See de Jehay (*op. cit.*), p. 274, and "Religion in the East," by Dr. John Wortabet, pp. 98–100.

of detail. For example, during the larger part of the services, the Orthodox draw curtains before all the entrances to the ikonostasis, which in the Eastern churches screens off the sanctuary from the body of the church, or close the entrance with actual doors; in the Greek Catholic churches the entrances are kept open, save that in some cases a curtain is drawn across the central opening before the high altar. Again, the Orthodox clergy never cut the hair, while the Greek Catholic priests are permitted to wear it short, though they are at liberty to follow the old custom if policy so directs.

Eastern though the Greek Catholic Church essentially remains, the influence of Rome can be traced in many ways. At present the patriarch is elected by the bishops in conclave (subject to confirmation from Rome, as well as from the Porte), thus following the method used in papal elections, as over against the more Eastern method of election by popular vote of the chief men of the see, which appears to have been followed by the sect as late as 1860.[1] Again, in the matter of a married priesthood, a right reserved to the Uniat bodies, there may be observed among the Greek Catholics (though not as strongly as among the Maronites) a growing tendency to conform to the Western practice of a celibate clergy. This appears to be the result of example rather than of direct precept. A French father in the theological seminary conducted in Jerusalem under the supervision of the White Fathers of Africa, for the training of the Greek Catholic priesthood, informed me that no pressure whatever was brought to bear on the students to influence them against marrying before ordination, though as a matter of fact no graduate ever had married. In this matter of education by which the parish clergy of the Greek Catholics are superior to those of the Orthodox, may also be traced the influence of Rome. Besides the Jerusalem training-school, the Greek Catholics have a theological college at the Propaganda at Rome under the care of the Benedictines. The patriarchal college at Beyrout provides a general education for boys. One of the first printing-

[1] See Dr. Wortabet's "Religion in the East," p. 86.

presses ever used in Syria was established by this sect at Shweir, a village in the heart of the Lebanon. Before the second half of the last century many very valuable books had been issued from this modest establishment.[1] Among their patriarchs, the Greek Catholics can rightfully boast of at least one man unusually distinguished in talent and learning: Maximus IV, commonly known as Maximus Muzlûm, who died in 1856.

The Greek Catholics have held four general councils or synods.[2] The acts of the first, summoned in 1806, were cancelled by Pope Gregory XVI. The canons enacted by the second, held during that same year, were confirmed. These continued to regulate the church till 1909, as the acts of a third council, held at Jerusalem in 1849, had been annulled by Rome. At Whitsuntide, 1909, the patriarchs and bishops again met in general council at Ain Trêz, a monastery in the Lebanon which had been the seat of the patriarch till this was moved to Damascus.[3] At this time all the canons of the church were overhauled.[4]

The papal propaganda among the members of the Greek Church in Turkey-in-Asia was concentrated in the ancient Patriarchate of Antioch, where it was practically confined. The Greek Catholic Church has a bishop resident at Acre, in the north of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, but the Greeks of the district are mostly Orthodox. Small bodies of Greek converts to Rome in the See of Constantinople were organized in 1861 under the name of "Greco Puro," subject to an apostolic delegate resident at the capital. There are also bodies of united Greeks in Russia, Austria, and Bulgaria.[5] There is a Greek Catholic colony in Calabria, said to consist of descendants of those

[1] See Dr. Wortabet's "Religion in the East," p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–96. Also de Jehay, p. 277.

[3] The patriarch at present occasionally takes up his residence in Egypt, where his church has a considerable following.

[4] Confirmation from Rome had not yet been received up to the summer of 1911.

[5] Consult "La Gerarchia Cattolica" (year-book of the Catholic clergy), pp. 26–27 (Roma, Tipographia Vaticana).

who immigrated from Albania at the time of Scander-beg, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Thus, in Italy istelf, in the very shadow of Rome, there exists a community, fully loyal to the pope and yet possessing a married clergy.

V. The Maronites[1]

Among the Uniates the Maronites occupy a distinct place. Alone of all these bodies they represent an Eastern church which has given its allegiance to Rome in its entirety. The Greek Church in Syria and Palestine is only one-third papal. The Maronite Church of the Lebanon, though more truly national, both by reason of its history and of its present condition, is wholly ultramontane. It is a strict tradition that the Maronite patriarch, as lord of the Lebanon, should never leave his mountain rocks, but this tradition must be set aside if a summons comes from Rome. With the Maronites, the elements of home rule and imperial loyalty have been, for the most part, firmly united. It is not too much to say that wisdom, tact, adaptability, and diplomacy have never worked more successfully than they have in the dealings of the See of Rome with the proud and independent mountaineers, who as late as 1850 cried, "Our patriarch is our sultan!" when the Turkish Government threatened to interfere in their internal affairs. Thoroughly Eastern in origin, the Maronites are to-day more Western than any other united body, but Rome has never forced innovations upon them.[2] When in 1584 a Maronite theological seminary was established at Rome, the ritual and practice of the Maronite Church differed little from the Jacobite. One hun-

[1] In preparing this section, which contains considerable new material, I have used freely my more elaborate article entitled "The Maronites," printed in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1892. The paper has the following sub-sections: I. The Maronites and the Lebanon. II. The Clergy, Churches, and Schools. III. The Monasteries. IV. The Ritual. V. The Calendar. Material from the article is also used in the next section and chapter.

[2] Note on p. 102 the statement that Pope Paul V, in 1610, actually requested the Maronite patriarch to restore certain ancient Eastern practices that had been abandoned.

dred and fifty years later at the Maronite Council of the Lebanon it was enacted that resident students should be forbidden to receive the sacraments of confirmation and ordination by any rite except their own, while all those whose loyalty to their own church was doubted should be instantly sent back to the Lebanon.[1] The especial reference, of course, was to the temptation, ever before the students, to become Latinized. The acts of this council were ratified by the papal see. But already in the century and a half which had elapsed since the founding of the college, the Maronite Church itself had been brought into closer harmony with the Latin, through the influence of graduates of this very institution, returning to positions of ecclesiastical authority at home. Rome had rightly calculated on the subtle influence of her environment. The Gregorian calendar was adopted in 1606. Other changes followed. How far this Romanizing tendency has proceeded can be illustrated to-day by a comparison between the interiors of a Roman Catholic and a Maronite Church in the same city, where no essential difference between the two can be observed. In both churches mass is said in full view of the congregation. Certain ruined Maronite Churches in Batrûn, where the typically Eastern ikonostasis (or screen dividing the sanctuary from the nave) remains, emphasizes the difference between past and present. While the use of old liturgies is freely permitted, the daily mass now usually employed is a Syriac adaptation from the Latin mass. On the other hand, the Eastern services for baptism, marriage, burial, as well as for feast-days, are largely retained. Further signs of conformity to Roman practice are shown by the use of the unleavened wafer in communion; in the abandonment of triple immersion in baptism; and in the administration of the sacrament of confirmation in later years, instead of causing it to follow immediately after baptism. This Romanizing process distinguishes the Maronites from all other Uniate bodies. With the Syrian Catholics the present

[1] I was recently informed by the head of the school in Rome that this rule is still in force.

tendency is to restore such few ancient practices as they had abandoned.

And yet with all their conformity to Rome, the Maronites are proud of their national church; proud of their Syriac and Arabic ritual; proud of such ancient practices as they still retain. Marûn, their alleged founder, and Mar Yuhanna Marûn, their first patriarch, are still their patron saints, though neither has been canonized by the holy see. This very confidence of solidarity may account for the ease with which they have adopted certain Western ways. Abandonment of established ritual and practice on the part of united Greeks or Syrians would tend to a loss of identity; would advertise a visible departure from traditions still observed by the Jacobite and Orthodox bodies, from whom they respectively separated merely on the ground of ecclesiastical allegiance, and a few points of theology, while professing to differ from them in no other way. No outward conformity on our part, the Maronites may be conceived to say, can alter the fact that we are the Maronite Church, we are the Maronite nation.

It is as a nation, though as a nation repentant of "heresy" and desirous of reunion with Rome, that the Maronites first clearly emerge into history, through the pages of William, Latin Archbishop of Tyre, who began his famous work on the Crusades about the year 1183, while the Franks still held the Holy City. That their annals previous to this are for the most part obscure, a fact plain to the impartial student, was acknowledged to me even by a Maronite ecclesiastic prominent in the work of education[1] It is clear, however, that toward the end of the seventh century the warlike Syrian Christians of the Lebanon were called Mardaites or Rebels, thus being distinguished from the Melchites, or Royalists, whose descendants are the present members of the Greek communions. These mountaineers were further called Maronites, but it is a question whether they owe their name to one Abbott Marûn, who is said to have died in the year 400, or to their first patriarch, Yuhanna Marûn (John Maro), whom they claim to have

[1] See foot-note 1 to p. 135, regarding the origin of this doctrine.

been chosen in the year 685, and who died in 707.[1] Most Maronites trace their name to this abbott, whose memory is still connected with the remains of a monastery near the source of the Orontes, which is said to have been erected on the spot where he once lived.[2] While it is quite possible that the "abbott" is mythical, it may be taken to be a matter of history that Yuhanna Marûn was the first patriarch of the Maronites. The learned Josephus Assemanus (to use the Latinized form of Yusif es-Sim'any), in his "Bibliotheca Orientalis," a ponderous work in four tomes (1719–1728), not only defends the first Maronite patriarch from the charge of heresy, but declares that "he cultivated the vine of the Lord so faithfully in the shores of Phœnicia as to bring into obedience to the Church of Rome many Monophysites and Monothelites."[3] This is not the place to discuss in detail a purely academic question, which my Maronite clerical friend acknowledged could be defended by good arguments on both sides; for the Maronites, whatever they may have once believed, have been loyal to Catholic doctrine for over seven hundred years. The arguments relative to the question whether or not they ever held the Monothelite idea of the nature of Christ have been elaborately presented, in accordance with the given point of view, both by the late Joseph Dibs, Maronite Bishop of Beyrout, naturally maintaining "perpetual orthodoxy," and by the late Joseph David, Syrian Catholic Bishop of Damascus, antagonizing the claim.[4] The Maronite partisans are able to quote the authority of Pope Benedict IV, who declared

[1] Dr. Wortabet argues that the name Maronites was used prior to the name Mardaites, as the Lebanese were called Rebels in consequence of their persisting in the heresy of Marûn. ("Religion in the East," p. 104.)

[2] Dr. Robinson describes these remains in his famous "Researches," vol. III, p. 539.

[3] "Bibliotheca Orientalis," tome I, cap. 43, pp. 496 *ff*. *Cf.* my article on "The Maronites," *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[4] See "La Perpetuelle Orthodoxie des Maronites," translation by T. Vazeux of an Arabic work by Dibs, Arras, 1896; also an Arabic work by Joseph David, with the subtitle in French: "Recueil de documents et de preuves contre la prétendue orthodoxie perpetuelle des Maronites." (For sale in Cairo.)

(1774) that near the end of the seventh century when the Monothelite heresy threatened to overwhelm the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Maronites secured the election of a patriarch who was confirmed in office from Rome, receiving the dignity of the pallium.[1] But even granting what is decidedly open to doubt, namely, that this pope was correct in his statement regarding the papal confirmation of the election of John Maro, which took place more than one thousand years before he wrote, the contemporary testimony of William of Tyre to the condition of the Maronites in the twelfth century proves that the nation had long been in a state of heresy and schism. Here is a translation of the passage from the prolix Latin of the period.

"In the meantime, while the kingdom [the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem] rejoiced in temporal peace, as we have said before, a certain nation of Syrians in the province of Phœnicia, dwelling in the region of the heights of the Lebanon, near the city of Byblos, experienced a great change in their condition. For while they had for almost five hundred years so followed the error of a certain arch-heretic, named Maro, as to be called Maronites; and, being estranged from the church of the faithful, had maintained a separate worship, returning now, through divine influence, to a sound mind, by shaking off their lethargy, they joined themselves to the Patriarch of Antioch, Aimericus, who was

[1] Quoted by Pere S. Vailhé in his recent article, "Origines Religieuses des Maronites," found in the "Echos d'Orient," tome IV (1901). Tomes VI and VII contain articles by the same author, dealing with different phases of the question; that in the former being an answer to Dibs's work, above mentioned. The Maronite literature regarding the subject is considerable. As early as 1679 Faustus Nairon published in Rome an elaborate treatise entitled "De Origine ac Religione Maronitarum." Other works are by Gabriel Sionita, Stephen Edenensis, Abraham Echelensis, G. Notain Der'auni, etc. The work of the last-named author entitled "Cerenici Storici sulla Nazione Siro-Maronita," published in Livorno (Leghorn) in 1890, attempts to prove that the true succession to the chair of Antioch is exclusively in the line of the Maronite patriarchs. In the prints of Yuhanna Marûn, found in the ecclesiastical books, he is represented as a patriarch in full canonicals, treading under foot a half-naked man, representing heresy, who grasps an open book from which a serpent is crawling.

the third Latin prelate to preside over this church; and abjuring their error, which had all too long and dangerously bound them, they reverted to the unity of the Catholic church, accepting the Orthodox faith, prepared to embrace and observe with all reverence the traditions of the Roman church. Now, this was no small body of people, but was said to exceed the number of forty thousand, who, as we have said before, inhabited the dioceses of Byblos, Botrys, and Tripolis, on the heights and slopes of Mount Lebanon; they were mighty men, and strenuous in arms, very useful to us by reason of the important engagements which they very often had with the enemy; hence also their conversion to the pure faith gave us the greatest joy. Now, the error of Maro and his followers is and was, as is stated by the Sixth Synod, . . . that in our Lord Jesus Christ there is and has been from the beginning but one will and operation." In this return to Rome, so adds our somewhat long-winded archbishop, the people were led by the patriarch and some bishops.[1]

This testimony from one who should be an authority on church matters is almost contemporary with the event chronicled. William of Tyre began his "History" in 1183, and the alleged conversion may be dated at about 1182 by comparing the context with the "Life of Saladin," by Beha ed Dîn, where contemporary events are dated. Jacques de Vitry, consecrated Bishop of Acre in 1217, repeats the story. He, however, testifies in detail to the addiction of the Maronites to Roman practice in his day, and states that their patriarch was present at the Lateran Council of 1216.[2] The union with Rome was further

[1] This quotation is from book XXII, cap. viii, of the "History of William of Tyre," found on pp. 1021 and 1022 of the collection of Bongars, called "Gesta Dei per Francos," etc. (Hanover, 1611). The full title of William's work is: "Incipit Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum a Tempore Successorum Mahumeth, usque ad Annum Domini MCLXXXIV. Edita a venerabili Willermo Tyrensi, Archiepiscopo."

[2] See his "Historia Hierosolymitana," LXXVII, found in the "Gesta Dei per Francos," *op cit.* English translation in vol. XI of the works of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society.

strengthened at the Council of Florence, in 1439, when the Maronites acknowledged the supremacy of Rome in ecclesiastical discipline. After the middle of the sixteenth century the papal see kept careful watch on the Maronites. In 1562 Pope Pius IV granted authority to the patriarch to absolve certain heretics of the Maronite nation. In 1577 Gregory XIII sent to the patriarch an Arabic translation of the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent. Paul V in 1610 wrote the patriarch concerning the restoration of certain Maronite rites, not contrary to Catholic doctrine, which the latter had changed. In 1713 Clement XI declared the deposition of the patriarch null and void commanding the bishops to yield him subjection. In 1736 the Maronites held a general council in the Lebanon, authorized by Clement XII.[1] No wonder, in view of such an accumulation of documentary evidence as to the relations of the Maronites with the holy see, that members of the nation, almost without exception, sturdily maintain the historical position of "perpetual orthodoxy" of their church from the earliest times, even in the face of the testimony of William of Tyre, which to impartial students, including many Catholics, appears to offer proof positive to the contrary.

No historic question could be more complicated than that of the ethnic relations of the present inhabitants of Syria and Palestine. It is, however, almost universally acknowledged that the Maronites are the descendants of the early dwellers on the slopes of the Lebanon, with but little admixture of other strains of blood. The Maronites themselves believe that their race accepted Christianity at its first teaching. Renan appears to stand alone in the position that "the Lebanon is truly the tomb of an old-world gone-by, which has disappeared body and soul. A total substitution of race, language, and religion has taken place. Maronites, Greeks, Metawileh, Druses, Moslems, Arabs,

[1] These references are to documents reproduced at the end of the Latin version of the acts of the Lebanon Council.

and Turcomans are all there of recent date."[1] Echoes of the old Syriac or Aramaic speech are heard in the broad Arabic vowels sounded in the Maronite villages near the cedars of Lebanon. The fair complexions and blue eyes common among the Greek Christians are seldom seen among the Maronites of the Kesrouan district above Beyrout. The typical face of this thickly populated region is round rather than oval; the eyes are well-set, almond-shaped, and black or brown in color; the nose is inclined to be broad; the teeth are white and regular; the complexion is a healthy olive with almost no red color; the stature is medium. In the cedar district in the north of the Lebanon the women are handsome, with round faces and pink-and-white complexion.

About three hundred thousand Maronites now live in the Lebanon, forming about three-quarters of the entire population. They are mainly concentrated in the northern half, beyond the Dog River, but they are scattered as well through the southern half, which is sometimes called the Mountain of the Druses. One hundred thousand more are found in Beyrout[2] and the other maritime cities of Syria, in Aleppo, Damascus, Cyprus, Egypt, and in foreign lands. For some years there has been a considerable Maronite floating population in the United States, Brazil, Australia, etc. A few hundred Maronites live in Nazareth, Jerusalem, and elsewhere in Palestine, but at present their hold on the Holy Land proper is feeble. After the expulsion of the Crusaders they had possessions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but it is said they were forced to sell these to the Franciscans. About the middle of the eighteenth century they still had several churches in Jerusalem, with a considerable following, but owing to a double persecution from the government on the one hand, and from the Franciscans on the other, their property was taken over by the Greeks and the Franciscans, while the majority of the people became Latins, that is to say, Roman Catholics proper. In the same way the native Latins of Nazareth are said to be

[1] See the "Mission de Phénicie," by E. Renan, p. 335.
[2] The Maronite population of Beyrout is 50,000.

descendants of Lebanon Maronites. Since the re-establishment of the Latin patriarchate in 1847, at each Latin mission station on either side of the Jordan, in accordance with a friendly agreement between the Roman Catholic and Maronite authorities, there have been in residence two priests, one in charge of the mission, ordained according to the Latin rite, though he may be a native, the other ordained as a Maronite, who usually does the actual parochial work, saying mass, baptizing, preaching, hearing confessions, etc., all according to the Maronite rite. In 1895 the sect again secured a foothold in Jerusalem, building a hospice and chapel, under the direction of a priest who represents the patriarch. I was officially informed that this move was forced on the Maronites by the failure of the Franciscans to provide for Maronite pilgrims, according to the agreement made when they took over the property.

The parallel chronicles of the Druses and Maronites contain the last chapters in the history of feudalism. This institution, which was organized on an international basis in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusaders, took deep root in Syria and Palestine, surviving in these lands long after it had disappeared from Europe. Its last refuge was in the Lebanon Mountains, where it received its deathblow but a half century ago. The constant rivalry for political control of the Lebanon between Maronite and Druse chieftains, which had caused the civil wars of 1845 and 1860, provoked, in the latter named year, the interference of Napoleon III, who sent an army of occupation to the Syrian coast. As a result of this foreign intervention the Lebanon government, feudal for centuries, was reorganized under a Christian governor, to be nominated by the sultan and confirmed by the great powers. The Lebanon continues to be a sort of *imperium in imperio*, the status of which was unaffected by the revival of the Turkish constitution in 1908. The governors have been appointed from the Christian pachas in service of the Turkish Empire, and have included Armenians and an Italian, but never a Syrian. The local nobility, thus, have been relegated to subordinate positions in the government.

Among the Druses the hereditary feudal rite of the nobles to command the services of the people of a given district, Christians as well as Druses, was unquestioned up to this time. Peasants were expected to haul stone from the quarry and firewood from the forest, receiving as their only pay a meal from the sheikh at the end of the day.[1] A year or two before the massacres of 1860, my father, then resident at Sûq-el-Ghurb in a house belonging to a well-to-do Protestant of Orthodox extraction, heard a cry wafted up from the roof of a house in 'Aitat, a village of Druse sheikhs on the slope below. "Ya Nasîf Machâil!" sounded the voice. "Ya Nasîf Machâil! He has spoken!" Nasîf Machâil, who knew that by this phrase his presence was commanded, immediately dropped his work, hastened down the slope, and, humbly saluting, entered the presence of him who had "spoken," his liege lord, the head of the house of Talhuk. "Take this letter at once to Baqlîn," briefly said the sheikh. Now, Baqlîn is not far from 'Aitat as the crow flies, but for man or beast it was in those days a weary journey of many hours along a stony path that twice dipped down to the bottom of deep valleys and mounted the steep slope beyond. Without question this Protestant Christian delivered the letter of the Druse chieftain and returned home along the same weary route. I myself remember well a benign and stately old sheikh of this same family of Talhuk who in the earlier times had ordered his servants to beat a man simply because he had failed to rise from his seat on the wayside when his lord was passing along another path further up the same slope.

According to unvarying feudal law, in return for such services the peasants received protection, leadership in war, and unbounded hospitality. Churchill states that the Emir (Prince) Beshîr Shehaab' would entertain for days together two or three thousand footmen and five or six hundred horsemen. The Earl of Carnarvon, writing of a visit made in 1853, testifies to similar hospitality among the Druse sheikhs, who impressed him with their dignity

[1] "Mount Lebanon," vol. I, p. 285, by Colonel Churchill (London, 1853).

and social ease.[1] The Shehaabs, descendants of a collateral tribe of the Qureish, remained entirely Mohammedan until about the middle of the eighteenth century, at which time the Lebanon branch became Maronites. The Hasbeya and Rasheya branches on the slopes of Hermon are still Moslems. The fame of the terrible and beneficent rule of the Emir Beshîr, who was at the height of his power a century ago, still lingers in the mountains. Old men have told me tales of his appearance which they had heard described by their fathers. He was short of stature, but had the head of a lion, with flaming brown eyes and a shaggy beard falling to the waist, the hairs of which stood on end when he was enraged. Once a man seeking to curry favor with the prince said to him: "My lord, yesterday on the fearsome plain of the Buqa'a I met a woman whom I knew not, walking alone and covered with jewels. 'How dare you thus fare abroad alone?' I asked her. 'Know you not,' she answered, 'that the Emir Beshîr rules in Lebanon?'" "Take the dog away," roared the emir, "and give him forty lashes for speaking to the woman!"

The complete disappearance of feudalism can be no better illustrated than by the present condition of the numerous Shehaab emirs, some of whom are so impoverished that they have become drivers. One of these recently had a "fare" who bargained to be taken to a certain Lebanon village and back again. Impatient of the slowness of the horses, the traveller had been loudly cursing the coachman all along the route, when, on approaching the village, the latter, who had been taking the verbal onslaught quite passively, pulled in the reins and leaning back said gently, "Would your excellency mind leaving the rest of your curses for the return journey? This happens to be my own village, and I am still prince here."

There is another family of Maronite emirs in the Lebanon, namely, the house of Abu Lemm'a, originally Druse, but turning Maronite Christian shortly after the "conversion" of the Shehaabs. These princes had become so

[1] "Recollections of the Druses of Lebanon and Notes on their Religion," p. 37, by the Earl of Carnarvon (London, 1860).

reduced in estate before the massacres of 1860 that Churchhill declared that the presentation by the peasants of fowls, coffee, and sugar, according to immemorial custom on the birth of a son to one of the emirs, had come to be "anticipated as a means of existence," whereas once it had been "accepted as a mark of dependence."[1] Unlike these two families of emirs, the three chief families of Christian sheikhs, those of Kha'zin, Ḥabeish', and Daḥdaḥ', are purely Maronite in origin. The house of Ḥabeish appears to be the oldest. According to Churchill, sheikhs of this family were allies of the Crusaders. The Khazins, by far the most important of these families, became powerful in the Kesrouan toward the close of the sixteenth century. Later they made alliances with the French kings, who became protectors of the Maronite nation, a tradition that not yet has lost all its power. In a similar way the Druses still look to the English as their special friends. Sheikh Naufal el-Khazin received as gifts from Louis XIV a sword and a ring. At Ghosta, once a centre for the Khazins, there may be seen, perched boldly on top of a hill that slopes precipitously fifteen hundred feet to the amethyst bay of Juneh, an ancient Maronite Church, with a quaint Latin inscription that might have been edited by an ancestor of Mrs. Gamp, with a turn for the dead languages: "Ex Ludovigi XV. Galliarum Regis Munifigentia Edifigium hoc erctum [*sic*] est 1769."

The power of the Khazins in the Kesrouan, though becoming somewhat abated, lasted till the year 1858, when the peasants, restive under the feudal yoke, rose in insurrection and drove out the nobles. Years later they returned, but in the meantime the reconstitution of the government had deprived them of all power as a family. Such traces of feudalism as continued to be manifested in the ingrained respect shown by the people to their nobility have been wellnigh obliterated by the lessons of personal independence learned in the United States and brought back by returned emigrants, who now fairly permeate the Lebanon

[1] "Mount Lebanon," *op cit.*, vol. I, p. 97.

as well as the rest of Syria, by no means to the improvement of the national manners.

The Maronite hierarchy is organized on the same lines with those of all Eastern communions. Peculiar national conditions, however, have accentuated the powers of the Maronite patriarch both in spiritual and in temporal matters. The official title of this head of the Maronite Church is Patriarch of Antioch and of the whole East. To his own name the patriarch must add that of Peter, the Founder of the Sea. Since 1440 the official seat has been the ancient monastery of Qannubîn, in the gorge of the Qadisha River, to be described later. In recent years the patriarchs have spent their summers in the monastery of B'dîman, on top of the cliff opposite to Qannubîn, and their winters at B'kerky, in the Kesrouan district, a dozen miles from Beyrout. The duties and privileges of the patriarch are detailed in the acts of the Council of the Lebanon, which was held at the monastery of Lowaizy in the year 1736. The acts of this only council ever held by the Maronite Church still regulate its affairs.[1] At this time the power to depose a bishop for fault was taken out of the patriarch's hands, but it was enacted that pending the decision from Rome he could imprison the suspected prelate in a monastery. The patriarch may entertain appeals in regard to cases tried by the bishops; he alone may permit marriages within the forbidden degrees of relationship; he may establish new fasts and feasts; he may make changes in the ritual provided that the substance is unaltered; he is to consecrate the chrismatic oil; in all grave matters he is to consult the bishops, and certain questions must be referred to Rome. The patriarchal revenues, which amount to several thousand pounds annually, accrue from the following sources: the incomes from the patriarchal estates and from affiliated monasteries; tithes from the Maronite nation; large sums of money sent from Europe for masses; the price of masses

[1] The acts of the council are published both in Arabic and in Latin. For an account of this council, see my article, "The Maronites," above quoted, pp. 77–79.

from wealthy Maronites, etc. According to the laws of this church each male adult is taxed three piasters, or about twelve cents, annually. For many years, however, the tax-gathering has not been strictly enforced. In some cases the bishops are allowed to retain a large portion of the tithes, and in others the parish priests may keep them.

Ten days after the death of a Maronite patriarch the bishops proceed to elect his successor. It is recommended that the candidate be a bishop, but a simple priest may be chosen for elevation. In any case the candidate must have completed his fortieth year. Six bishops may form a quorum. According to a hereditary privilege the doors of the church where the election takes place may be guarded by a sheikh of the house of Khazin. The presiding officer, who is the senior bishop, writes his choice on a bit of paper, seals it, and drops it in a cup on the altar. When all have thus cast their votes, these are counted by two of the bishops; if they do not correspond with the number of voters they are thrown, unopened, in a brazier of coals near the door, and a new vote is taken. The successful candidate must receive two-thirds of the whole number of votes cast. Election by acclamation is legal only when it is absolutely unanimous. The first Sunday or feast day after the election is appointed for the consecration, after which the new patriarch writes a letter to the pope, professing obedience and praying for confirmation of his election and enthronement. One of the bishops is sent as special envoy to Rome, bringing back the pallium.

Like all other Oriental prelates in the Turkish Empire, the Maronite bishops exercise civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction over their people. The patriarch has the sole authority in episcopal election and consecration, but he should have the advice and consent of his bishops. Moreover, the ancient Eastern customs of consulting the wishes of the people, disregarded by the Greek Catholics, is kept up by the Maronite hierarchy by sending agents to confer with the priests and chief men of the diocese. According to the canons the nomination may be made either by the patriarch or by the people. The candidate must be at least thirty years of age, and should have been six months

in priest's orders. The patriarch usually consecrates the bishop-elect, but upon necessity he may delegate the duty to three other bishops. Among the Maronite bishops of recent times there have been some fair scholars. The Bishop Na'amtallah, of the noble house of Daḣdaḣ, told me somewhat naïvely that he had studied fifteen languages, including Chinese. The late Bishop Dibs, of Beyrout, an author of some local note, established in his city a large college for boys and young men, with a seminary attached. The episcopal revenues vary with the different dioceses. They include the income from property belonging to the diocese and, in certain cases, a portion of the tithes. When making a visitation a bishop often receives the prices of masses from rich members of the see.[1]

We have seen that the ecclesiastical grade of Chorepiscopus (Country Bishop), which disappeared centuries ago from the Western church, still actively survives in the Jacobite communion. This grade is recognized by the canons of the Maronite Church, as is that of Periodeuta, whose functions originally were to tour among the villages of the diocese examining the general condition of churches and monasteries. Until the patriarchate of the late Ḣanna-el-Ḣaj, who was enthroned in 1890, these grades had practically lapsed, though the honorary title "berdût'" (the Arabicized form of periodeuta) was occasionally held by priests representing the patriarch in distant parts. Under Ḣanna-el-Ḣaj and his successor, the present patriarch, both grades have been systematically revived. Each diocese may now have one periodeuta exercising the canonical function of itinerancy, with power to investigate. The number of chorepiscopi is not limited. They act as representatives of the patriarch. Thus the priest in charge of the Jerusalem hospice was first made a "berdût" by patriarchal consecration, and later was consecrated as chorepiscopus, responsible to the patriarch.[2]

The Maronite parish priests are elected by the people,

[1] For a list of the Maronite dioceses, see Appendix.

[2] The Arabic word for chorepiscopus, خوري الاسقف , found in the canons is a curious and involved instance of "false etymology." The

who usually choose a member of their own town. In the village of Hammana the families are divided into three groups, each of which has a church with one or more priests from its own members. In case of a number of priests over one church, they divide the parish work. The parish priests receive no regular salary besides the price of masses, but may collect fees for marriages, baptisms, funerals, etc. In the growing tendency to ordain unmarried men the subtle influence of Rome may be traced. Thus in the Beyrout church of Mar Elyas, the three priests are all celibate. The Maronite parish clergy is better educated than that of any other Syrian body except the Greek Catholics and possibly the Syrian Catholics. Besides the theological schools at Rome and at the Dibs College at Beyrout there are seminaries at 'Ain Wa'raqa, Rumî'yeh, Reifun' and Mar 'Ab'da in the Lebanon.[1] At these schools much is made of Syriac, the original language of the church, and still used exclusively in the mass. A smattering of Syriac is even taught in the village schools. For the usual lack of preaching in the parishes, a certain compensation may be found in the itinerant visits of an order of regular clergy.

In a hollow of the hills opening toward the sea above the Bay of Juneh nestles the convent of missioners called Deir-el-Kreim, with a bishop at the head. The priests may be known by a small red cross at the top of the cap. At different seasons, but especially in Lent, members of this order go from village to village, usually by twos, making at each place a visit of eight days, beginning with Sunday. The people are expected to regard this mission as a sort of retreat, giving up their work as far as possible in order to attend the three daily preaching services, and keeping silence the rest of the time. The discourses are occasionally controversial, if the local circumstances appear to demand

colloquial Arabic term for priest, khuri, is supposed to have been originally an abbreviation of chorepiscopus. Accordingly, in seeking an Arabic translation for this latter term, the second part of which plainly meant "bishop," the phrase "khuri-el-isqof," or "the bishop's priest," which loosely defined the functions, was employed.

[1] See my article, "The Maronites," *op. cit.*, p. 138.

it, but as a rule they deal with themes of practical conduct. Many who have not confessed for years yield to the persuasion of the priests. Truly the phenomena of a "revival season" do not differ essentially in the different faiths.

The power of the Maronite hierarchy, so subtly uniting spiritual and temporal elements, has received a decided blow in recent years. It had partially recovered from the first attack made upon it during the administration of Rustem Pacha, who became governor of the Lebanon in 1873, when it was again threatened by the activity of the societies of Freemasons and other popular benevolent associations which have sprung up in the Lebanon since the beginning of the century in consequence of the liberal ideas brought back from the New World by returned emigrants. These societies are not anti-religious, but only anti-clerical, in so far as the clergy has unduly attempted to influence legislation in the Lebanon courts. Thus two parties have been lately formed among the Maronites: the one backing the patriarch, who still openly claims territorial jurisdiction over the Kesrouan; and the other antagonizing the claim, with all that it involves. The popular party includes some parish priests. The controversy, once started, waxed fierce indeed. Not only was a bitter pamphlet and newspaper war waged, but the patriarch put under the ban the Freemasons and other societies. On the death of the late governor, Muzuffar Pacha, a cable with one thousand signatures was sent to Constantinople, protesting against the appointment of a gubernatorial candidate who might be favorable to the clerical party. At one time the people of Ghazir′, a hot-bed of clericalism, boycotted the church, threatening to invite the Moslems to build a mosque under the very eyes of the patriarch. The issues are by no means yet settled, but it is claimed that the popular party has already undermined the clerical influence in the government courts.

This popular uprising among the Maronites against the higher clergy chronologically followed similar conditions in the Greek patriarchate of Antioch, and is synchronous with

the troubles in the patriarchate of Jerusalem. But between the Maronite and Greek movements there is one salient difference. While the native Greeks have been rebelling against the domination of an alien Ionian hierarchy, the Maronite people have been endeavoring to curtail the privileges which a Maronite hierarchy of their own flesh and blood has exercised unquestioned for centuries.

VI. The Monasteries

To call this section "The Eastern Monastic Orders" would be misleading. Among the united bodies of Syria may be found, indeed, genuine orders whose members follow the ancient monastic rules of the East, preserved since the time of Saint Anthony, but the co-ordination of these rules into a rigid constitution, and the elaborate system of almost military control, culminating in a general of the order, was based on Western models. Among the Orthodox, orders comparable to these are not to be found. Such communities of monks as exist in the Greek Church were established for some practical purpose. Thus the original community of Mount Athos was founded for the copying of manuscripts, though it should be added that with the lapse of this function, consequent both on the lapse of learning in the Greek Church and on the discovery of printing, the monastic establishments of Mount Athos did not cease to flourish.[1] The Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which ramifies all over Palestine, and also extends beyond seas, has for its justification the preservation of the holy places. The Convent of Mount Sinai exists for a similar purpose. Numerous independent Greek monasteries, however, exist in Greece, Asia Minor, the Lebanon, and elsewhere, each being quite unconnected with any other monastery. Such establish-

[1] In 1902 the monks of this place numbered some seven thousand five hundred, divided among twenty monasteries, other smaller establishments, and hermit cells. The entire community is regulated by a holy synod, an institution that appears to be organized on thoroughly democratic lines.

ments, which are under the control of the patriarch or of the bishop of the diocese, have been usually founded by wealthy and charitable Greeks, with the understanding that the surplus income be devoted to the maintenance of schools or hospitals. Orthodox monks follow the rule of Saint Basil, with modifications differing in different establishments. Of the four ancient divisions of Jacobite-Syrian monks, the Eremites, the Stylites, the Cœnobites, and the Inclusi, only the two latter remain. A few still live in cells. All are under episcopal jurisdiction.[1]

Of the origin and development of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre we have already written at length. The head-quarters are in the very heart of the Holy City, at the celebrated Convent of Constantine, popularly known as the Greek convent, or Deir-er-Rûm. In the bewildering jumble of its open courts, dim, vaulted passages, quaint little gardens, and steep stairways a stranger might easily get lost. This mass of buildings, which covers a large area, is joined on the north to the patriarchate by a bridge over a narrow lane, and on the east to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the roof of a covered arcade under which flows the life of the city along the so-called Christian street. Since the Middle Ages the history of this Greek convent is intertwined with the history of Jerusalem. One is tempted to trace, at least to a certain extent, the friendly relations between Christians and Moslems which distinguishes the life of Jerusalem to the dominating influence of this institution, which for centuries not only has given employment to the poor of all classes, but which has extended patronage in return for protection to the noble Moslem families. A similar tale might be told of the Franciscan convent. The Greek convent has much property at different points within the city walls, as well as large and remunerative agricultural estates, mainly on the south-west side of the town.

The president of the brotherhood is, ex officio, the patriarch, who thus must have been elected from the monks of this order. In the Convent of Constantine are resident eight

[1] "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," p. 325, by O. H. Parry.

bishops and nine archimandrites, all seventeen being members of the Holy Synod; twenty-one other archimandrites, twenty-six ordinary priests, nineteen deacons, and fifty-five lay brothers, making a total of one hundred and thirty-eight.[1] Some of the bishops are *in partibus*, but others have been criticised by the native Syrians for not residing in their sees. Seventy-six members of the order are resident elsewhere in Jerusalem and vicinity, while the other holy places of Palestine are guarded by one hundred and seventy-one other members, lodged in monasteries or other establishments east and west of the Jordan. The traveller from Jerusalem to Jericho should turn aside to look across the deep canyon of the Wady-el-Kelt at the Monastery of Mar Yuhan'na (Saint John), which clings to the opposite cliff. He may also note the ladders which lead to the entrances of the cells of hermits, who still inhabit caves in this desolate gorge. The convent also has establishments in Constantinople, Athens, Cyprus, Crete, and Moscow. The entire membership of this closest of close corporations is over four hundred. How deeply the native Syrians resent their exclusion from the brotherhood, which is in the hands of an Ionian hierarchy, we have seen already. The members on entering the order take the vows of obedience and chastity, but not that of poverty. At death, however, all properties in the possession of monks lapse to the general fund.

The great convent contains three churches, the largest of which is dedicated to Saint Thekla, hence the establishment was called the Monastery of Saint Thekla, in 1400. Contiguous to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are the churches of Helena and of Constantine. In the former mass is said daily, except on Good Friday and on the two Sundays preceding Lent. The convent library contains about three thousand manuscripts and ten thousand printed books. Among the former are over one hundred ancient Greek works on vellum, including the famous Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles, found in the Jerusalem library at the Phanar, on the Golden Horn, Con-

[1] See Appendix.

stantinople. The librarian is the learned and courteous Archdeacon Cleophas Kiklides.

The reception of pilgrims is one of the chief functions of the establishment, and of its ten sub-convents elsewhere in the city. The pilgrims take their first meal in one of the three synod chambers (now no longer used for the original purpose) containing a long stone table and stone seats. Russian pilgrims are mainly cared for in the Russian buildings, north of the town walls, under the auspices of the Imperial Society of Palestine.[1]

While the patriarchate of Jerusalem is thus honeycombed with Greek monastic establishments, all under the control of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, among the Greeks of the patriarchate of Antioch, the monastic profession is followed to-day by scarcely sixty individuals, scattered among the following unco-ordinated monasteries: Bellament (Belmont, near Tripoli); Mar Elyas′ Shweiy′ya (Saint Elijah, near Bekfay′ya in the Lebanon); Mar Jir′jius (Saint George, between 'Akkar′ and Ḥums); and in five or six smaller establishments in the Lebanon, as well as in the Convent of Sedanay′ya, where there are some twenty-five nuns. The bold, rocky site for this convent of Our Lady is said to have been indicated in a dream by a dove, which apparently has continued to be the protector of the place. According to a recent tradition, when in 1860 the building was packed with Christians escaped from Damascus for fear of the massacres, the Moslems were kept away by this dove, which hovered around the massive walls. The nuns of Sedanayya itinerate among the towns and villages of the land, collecting oil to be used for the Feast of the Virgin, as well as for convent use during the rest of the year. At this feast thousands congregate from all over the country, bringing no food, as this is supplied by the convent. In many features it differs in nowise from all popular religious festivals of whatever creed in Syria and Palestine, though the total abstinence of the Moslems happily rules out at their

[1] For other interesting details in regard to the Greek convent, see the valuable pamphlet of Archdeacon Dowling, entitled "The Patriarchate of Jerusalem." (London, 1908.)

functions the drunken brawls, sometimes ending in murder, which often disgrace the Christian feasts. In recent years the crowds at Sedanayya are said to have been better behaved than formerly.

In the Lebanon there may be found some forty monastic establishments under the sole control of the Maronite patriarch, falling thus, like the Greek establishments, under the category of the unco-ordinated monasteries. Such Maronite establishments, however, include fifteen nunneries, the rest being episcopal seats, schools, etc. Where monks are resident in these monasteries they belong individually to one of the three orders, which were organized on a Western basis in the eighteenth century, out of the existing monastic units. From the early days of Christianity, hermits and cœnobites, following the rule of Saint Anthony, dwelt in the Lebanon. Later veritable monasteries were founded. When the first movement toward co-ordination took place I have not ascertained, but it seems probable that it was well under way when the Maronite scholar of the eighteenth century, Germa′nus Farhat′, as a monk in the monastery of Mar Elîsha‘ organized the ancient rules into a constitution, later confirmed by the pope. The first division among the monks of Saint Anthony was made in 1700, when the sub-order of Mar Isha‘ya (Isaiah) was formed. The original body continued to bear the name of the monks of Mount Lebanon till 1768, when they were divided into the two orders of Aleppines (Halabî′yeh) and Lebanese (Libnanî′yeh or Beladî′yeh), sometimes called the monks of Qozhay′ya, from their chief convent. The monks of the three orders combined are said now to number some fifteen hundred. In the year 1890 about sixty per cent of the total of one thousand one hundred and sixty belonged to the Libnanîyeh, twenty-six per cent to the monks of Isha‘ya, and fourteen per cent to the Halabiyeh.[1]

Since the split in the Greek Church in 1724, the Greek Catholics have organized three orders of monks called the Mukhallasî′yeh (from their chief establishment, Deir-el-

[1] See my article, "The Maronites," *op. cit.*, p. 322.

Mukhal'lis, or Convent of Our Saviour), the Beladî'yeh (local or national), and the Halabî'yeh (Aleppines), which have at present some two hundred and fifty, one hundred and eighty, and sixty members respectively. In their personal discipline the monks, like their Orthodox brethren, follow the rule of Saint Basil, but as a corporate body, with mutual relations among the members, each order is organized on lines similar to the Maronite. Among the Greek Catholics, the nuns, who number about one hundred and twenty, are all contemplative, that is, keeping within convent bounds. Thus among these two united churches, Greek Catholic and Maronite, in the Lebanon alone, there are over two thousand monks and nuns, as over against a total of sixty among the Orthodox of the whole patriarchate of Antioch, of which the Lebanon is but a small part. From the West the Maronite monks have borrowed the tonsure.[1]

As the three Maronite orders are controlled in much the same way, the following summary, based on a study of the rules of the order of Mar Isha'ya, may be taken as applying generally to all three, as well as to the Greek Catholic orders organized along the same lines.[2] Controlling each order is an abbot-general elected once in three years at a general council. With the Halabîyeh and the monks of Mar Isha'ya this meeting is opened and closed by the patriarch; with the Beladîyeh, by the pope's delegate. The abbot-general is assisted in his duties by four general-directors, whom he is obliged to consult in some cases. Groups of monasteries are under the charge of district directors. Each monastery has its superior, who is to choose at least three monks as advisers. These aid but cannot control him. The temporal affairs are in the hands of the steward, who in his contact with the world is urged by the rules to try to improve it. He is to make accounts with the peasant partners of the monastery. The revenues of some

[1] When a Greek monk takes the vows, bits of hair are cut off from the four sides of his head, but there is no regular tonsure.

[2] These rules have been printed at Rome in Karshûni (Arabic language in Syriac text). For a full analysis of this volume, see my article, "The Maronites," *op. cit.*, pp. 146–153.

of these establishments are considerable, that of Deir-en-Na'meh, near the mouth of the Damûr, aggregating from eight thousand dollars to ten thousand dollars yearly. Each monastery should also have its confessor, preachers, sacristan, librarian, readers—whose function is to read to the monks while they eat—porter, steward of the store-room, and steward of the sick. There is also a steward of the clothes, who "should care for them as for the poor of Jesus Christ." This phrase reminds me of another on the lips of a gentle old monk in the rock-hewn monastery of Elîsha' at the bottom of the gorge of the Qadisha. I asked him what his function might be in the establishment. With a deprecating smile he answered: "I pray in the food"; thus signifying in his Oriental euphemism touched with mysticism that he was the cook. Many of the minor offices just mentioned appear to have lapsed.

The range of the Lebanon follows the sea-coast for about one hundred and twenty miles from south to north, having a maximum breadth of twenty-five to thirty miles. The power of the Catholic orders in this region may be gathered from the statement that from one-seventh to one-sixth of the land belongs to the monasteries of the different churches, over four-fifths of this monastic property being Maronite. Viewed from the harbor of Beyrout, the Kesrouan district, whose ashen hills rise almost straight from the sea, appears to be dominated by the monasteries. These rise from the bold summits, perch on the outstanding crags, hang against the sheer mountain walls, lie gently on the lower slopes. The majority are Maronite, but among these are establishments belonging to the Syrian Catholics and to the Armenian Catholics. Some occupy the veritable heathen "high places" of old. Above the ravine of the Beyrout River is the Maronite Deir-el-Qula'a, or Convent of the Castle, on the site of an ancient temple, whose massive walls and pillars may still be seen in ruins. In the name of the site of the Armenian Catholic monastery, B'zummar (house of singing), there may be an echo of some former Baal worship.

During the early days of monasticism in the Lebanon,

however, the salient sites were not chosen. Monks sought rather the ravines and mountain clefts, not only because these were more fitted for the solitary life, but probably also for prudential reasons. Around the irregular plateau of the cedars, which has an elevation of some six thousand five hundred feet, mountains from three thousand to four thousand feet higher sweep in a vast half-circle. The plateau terminates abruptly in a falling precipice, in the face of which a cavern sends forth a stream tumbling in a series of cascades and soon entering the deep canyon once formed by itself. This is the gorge of the Qadîsha, or Sacred River, thus named, probably, because from the earliest times it was the refuge of hermits. Indeed, a handful of these may be found here to-day, and also in the gorge of the Dog River. Near the head of the Qadîsha canyon is the ancient Convent of Mar Elîsha‘. While groping among its dim corridors and musty cells, the visitor finds it hard to distinguish between built masonry and the wall of the mountain. From the winter isolation of this convent the monks may now escape to a fine new establishment built high up on the edge of the opposite cliff.

A few miles farther down where the gorge is over fifteen hundred feet deep, crouching under the cliffs some three hundred feet above the stream, is the famous convent of Qannubîn (dedicated to the Virgin), built according to tradition by the Emperor Theodosius in the fourth century. The chapel, which is built into a cave, opens on an irregular court-yard surrounded by rooms, some of great antiquity, some quite modern. The vaulted roof and walls of the chapel were once covered with frescoes, but at the time of my visit in 1889 the priest explained to me with some pride that in the interests of neatness he had whitewashed the entire interior except the bit over the altar! This fresco represents a company of kneeling patriarchs, with a number of violin-bearing cherubs hovering over them. Qannubîn has been for centuries the titular residence of the patriarchs, who still in the summer occupy the monastery of B‘dîman, on the top of the opposite cliff, wintering, as we have seen, at B‘kerky, near Beyrout.

A few miles below Qannubîn a smaller side gorge enters the Qadîsha Valley from the south. Under the eternal frown of its mountain walls stands the locally celebrated monastery of Mar Antanius Qozhay'ya. The best approach is from Eh'den, which lies on the hills above. As the rough and tortuous path approaches the convent, it passes between two rock pinnacles joined above by an arch surmounted by a cross. The present monastery, one of the richest in the Lebanon, was built in 1732, and contains over one hundred monks. There is a printing-press, whence Arabic and Syriac books have been issued. But the interest of Qozhayya centres in a cave, not far from the convent, which pierces far into the mountain above. Here, so runs the legend, once slept Saint Anthony himself, when he came from Egypt to visit the Lebanon hermits. Hence to this convent and cave are brought the "possessed" of all creeds, including Moslems and Druses, that Saint Anthony may drive out the evil spirit. As we walked about the place together, a priest told me that sometimes the patients are cured by simply passing under the arch and cross, which are over the approaching path; others, when they enter the conventual precincts; and still others in the church, where a priest exorcises the evil spirit by adjuring him in the name of God, and beating the patient on the head, sometimes with a shoe. If the spirit will not leave the man, he is taken into the cave, where an iron collar is fastened around his neck. If violent, his limbs are shackled. A number of madmen may be chained in the cave at the same time. The priest in charge visits the cave occasionally, giving the patients to drink of the holy water which drops from the roof, but feeding them very little. The cure is assured when the patient is found without the collar. Its removal is said to be the work of Saint Anthony, whose appearance is sometimes described by the victims. If no cure is effected the priests conclude that the man has no devil to be exorcised, but only a disease of the brain for which the place professes to have no cure! That belief in diabolical possession is strong in the land is indicated by the ordinary Arabic term for insane, "mejnûn'," which is, literally, "possessed by a jinn,

or spirit." The exorcist is still a recognized functionary in the Maronite Church, and in recent times devils have been cast out not only at Qozhayya, but in some of the village churches.[1]

Other Maronite monasteries besides Qozhayya possess valuable assets in the alleged healing powers of the patron saint. Some of these are specialists. At the convent of Mar No′hara (Lugius) there is a well of water said to be good for weak eyes. Mar ‘Ab′da el-Mashum′mar is visited by barren women who desire children. Mar Shallî′ta, the patron of animals, is invoked when mules are sick or mares will not bear. Pebbles from the convent of Mar Dhu′mit, which stands near the sea-shore, in the vicinity of Jebail (Byblos), are blessed by the saint to the cure of rheumatism. Mar Ruha′na is supposed to cure hernia. Mar Ephraem is the patron of memory. Miracle-working is by no means confined to the saints who lived in early times. Some fifty years ago a holy monk called Na‘amtal′lah el-Hardî′ny was buried in a vault of the convent of K′fêfan′. Some two years later it was found that his body had not decayed, but, though dried up, preserved perfectly the form and features of the monk. Thus K′fêfan′ began at once to attract hundreds of sick folk who sought cure from the new saint, bringing much gain to the coffers of the establishment.

[1] Up to the year 1900 there was no establishment in Syria and Palestine for the scientific treatment of mental disease. In that year the Lebanon Hospital for the Insane was established by Theophilus Waldmeier at the ‘Asfurî′yeh, near Beyrout.

CHAPTER III

THE RITUAL OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

Introductory Note

In considering the ritual of the five chief Eastern churches of Syria and Palestine, we shall find that we are dealing with three types only: the Greek, the Syrian, and the Maronite, for the Greek Catholic and the Syrian Catholic communions made little alteration in the ritual practised by the churches whose authority they exchanged for that of Rome. Indeed, broadly speaking, the types are only two, the Byzantine and the Syrian. Up to the twelfth century the history of the Maronites formed but a part of the general history of the Syrian Church, and to this day they have in common a number of anaphoræ, or liturgies, while their other services are similar.

The official language of the Holy Orthodox Church, with its derivative, the Greek Catholic Melchite Church, is the ancient Greek. The main service books, however, have been translated into the national languages of all the countries where the Greek Church is organized. The natives of Syria and Palestine have a peculiar advantage in their Arabic versions. The ability of the common people to understand the services varies much with different countries. In Bulgaria, for example, the translation was made into the ancient Slavic language, little of which is now comprehensible to the uneducated.[1] In the Arabic translation, on the other hand, while the classical language is also employed, this can readily be followed by the masses, though of course they could not speak it. The same is true of the Protestant translation of the Bible. In Syria and Palestine the

[1] The gospel is now read in modern Bulgarian.

Orthodox parish priest does not need to know any Greek beyond a few phrases, such as *Kyrie eleison*, for all services, including the mass, are read from the authorized Arabic translations. At Jerusalem, in the Anastasis (commonly known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) Greek is the only language used, as the officiating clergy are Ionian Greek monks. In the cathedral church of Damascus (the seat of the Patriarch of Antioch, who is at present a native Syrian) the two languages are used indifferently; the singers on one side may chant in Arabic while those on the other are using Greek. Less concession is made to the vernacular by the Syrian and Maronite churches, whose sacred language is ancient Syriac. The commonest service of all, the mass, is entirely in Syriac, though in the Maronite liturgies a few authorized Arabic phrases may be substituted.[1] On the other hand, the marriage and baptismal services of the Maronites, together with many others, are in Arabic. This holds true of similar services among the Jacobites and Syrian Catholics. The books containing these are written or printed in Syriac character, this combination of Arabic words and Syrian form being known as Karshûni. Both types of service books, the Greek and the Syrian, are teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be used by the priest when a corner-stone is laid, when a threshing-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be conjured from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk-worms are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil-eye.

[1] I was told by a former Jacobite sub-deacon from Mosul that he himself, by the advice of the priest (who was following a precedent), once made, during service, an at-sight translation of the epistle into Arabic, pronouncing in Syriac the words he did not understand! The gospel is always read in the vernacular.

The interiors of all Eastern churches except the Maronite differ from those of Western churches in the use of a screen to divide nave and sanctuary, entirely shutting off the latter from the view of the congregation. This division has its origin in the conception of the mass as a mystery which should be celebrated by the priest in secret. As has already been noticed, ruined Maronite churches in Batrûn, where the screens may still be seen, testify that the complete conformity of this communion to Roman custom in the matter of internal church arrangement is but recent. In the Greek Church the screen is called the ikonostasis, as upon it are hung the ikons. These may be pictures painted on a flat surface, or may be metal representations in low relief which are not supposed to contravene the unwritten law of the Orthodox Church forbidding statues in the round.[1] The ikonostasis may be merely a plain stone wall rising to the ceiling, as found in the old church of the village of Mahardy, in northern Syria; or it may be a real ornamental screen made of stone or of marble; or it may consist of wood, elaborately carved and overlaid with gilt or painted in rich, sombre colors. It should have at least three openings which may or may not be fitted with wooden doors, but curtains are always found in the Orthodox and Jacobite churches, not always in the United churches. In some large buildings there are five doors; the Greek Catholic cathedral at Damascus has nine, with a curtain hung only before the central opening, called the royal gates, in front of the high altar. In the Orthodox Church all curtains are drawn aside during the week following Easter. The ikons or pictures are usually of the unchanged Byzantine type, but modern art is creeping in. At the right of the royal gates is the picture

[1] The permission in the Orthodox Church to use ikons while statues are practically forbidden presents, in the words of Tozer ("The Church and the Eastern Empire," p. 125), "a curious anomaly." He calls it "a distinct departure from the principles of the Seventh General Council" (which restored the images), a change that "must have been brought about very gradually; so much so that no trace remains to us of the steps by which it came to pass." It is quite possible that the Greeks may have been unconsciously influenced by the abhorrence of images felt by their Moslem masters.

of Christ; at the left, that of the Virgin. To the left of this may hang the ikon of the patron saint. Saint George, the Forty Martyrs, etc., are common subjects. Sometimes pictures of the twelve apostles are ranged along the top of the ikonostasis. Pictures in modern style may be found in the United churches; with the Maronites the seven stations of the cross are common. Parry states that the only picture strictly allowed in Syrian churches is a portrait of the founder frescoed on the wall. He adds that most churches contain pictures either as frescos or framed paintings, but that these are modern and little venerated.[1] Some years ago I found elaborate frescos, by no means modern, on the walls of the Jacobite church at Ṣudud, representing, among other subjects, a spirited fresco of the last judgment, and a picture of a robust sea-monster either swallowing or discharging the Prophet Jonah, who was dressed in full episcopal canonicals, with meekly folded arms.

The sanctuary (Arabic: hai'kal, or temple) is usually approached by one step. In Greek churches the central part is called the bema, the northern part the prothesis, and the southern part the vestry; but often the three parts form a single chamber. At the east end there is usually an apse, where is placed the patriarch's chair. At the cathedral church of Saint Mark's, at Alexandria, the apse is stepped, as in the old basilicas, the patriarchal throne being in the centre of the top step, while the bishops are ranged around.[2] The patriarch also has a chair in the nave. The high altar is called, both in Greek and in Arabic, simply the table. It is often, but not necessarily, surmounted by a canopy or dome, supported by four pillars, like an open belfry.[3] This is wanting in the cathedral church of Alexandria. On the table should always be found a cross, a lighted

[1] See "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," p. 334, by O. H. Parry (London, 1895).

[2] A similar stepped apse was found near the pool of Siloam in excavating a church dating from the fifth or sixth century. The steps, however, were too narrow for seats. See "Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–1897," p. 204, plate 18, by Bliss and Dickie.

[3] Found also in Jacobite churches.

lamp, the ciborium ("house of the body," in Arabic), and the Gospels, which rest on the sacred cloth called the antimins. Any table may be temporarily converted into an altar if the antimins be placed thereon. In large churches there may be two smaller altars to the north and south of the high altar.[1] In Saint Mark's, at Alexandria, these are actually parts of the building, being merely shelves in circular niches in the east wall of the church. Such a shelf constitutes, in most churches of the East, the table of oblations, or medhbaḥ, literally the place of sacrifice, where the holy gifts are prepared in connection with an elaborate service, to be noticed later. Each separate table must have its own medhbaḥ to the north. Where there is but one table the medhbaḥ is supposed to be in the prothesis; however, at the Maḥardy Church, where the sanctuary is actually divided into three separate rooms, the medhbaḥ is a small wooden table in the bema itself, to the north of the altar. In the east wall of the cathedral church of Alexandria there are six circular niches of equal size, three to the north and three to the south of the great altar. The shelf of the first niche to the north constitutes the medhbaḥ of this great table or altar; the second shelf stands for another table or altar, having for its medhbaḥ the third shelf. The first niche to the south contains the medhbaḥ of the third altar, which is constituted by the shelf of the second niche; the third niche is not used. In the Greek Catholic churches side altars have been introduced in the nave.

In the Orthodox churches the nave is usually bare of seats, as it is the practice for the men to stand during the service, but there may be stalls at the sides for the aged and infirm. Benches, however, are coming into use in the United churches. At the west end there is a gallery for women. In churches where there is a pulpit, this is usually attached to the north-west pillar, being approached by a circular stair. From this pulpit the deacon should read the gospel. The baptismal font is sometimes found in the south-west corner. In front of the screen on either side of

[1] Found also in Jacobite churches.

the royal gates are desks for the singers. The Eastern churches have no organs.[1] Though in general the interior arrangement of all Maronite churches is modelled on the Roman Catholic, sometimes a latticed screen may be found shutting off the western third of the nave for the use of women.

The older village churches are all dark, the only windows being small openings very high up. In former times there was little difference between the appearance of the churches and that of the ordinary square, flat-roofed houses. But it is now customary to build at one of the corners of the roof a light open belfry, with a dome, which is sometimes surrounded by four ornamental chalices, and is always topped with a cross. In the cities, among all communions, large windows and tiled roofs are coming into fashion.

I. The Eastern Liturgies

The liturgies used by the churches of Syria and Palestine are all derived from the ancient Greek liturgy of Saint James, and thus belong to the Hierosolymitan family of liturgies.[2] Those used by the Greek Churches are of the Byzantine branch, while the numerous liturgies of the Syrian and Maronite Churches, called also anaphoræ, descend through the Syriac Saint James, which itself was translated from the Greek Saint James.[3] The Orthodox Church employs four liturgies. These communion services are much longer and more elaborate than the Roman mass, teeming with a greater volume and variety of sym-

[1] There is an organ in the Maronite cathedral at Beyrout and in the chapels of some of the schools, but the innovation is recent.

[2] The term liturgy is here used in its technical sense for the office of the mass.

[3] See the following works: "The Liturgies of Saint Mark, Saint James, Saint Clement, Saint Chrysostom, and the Church of Malabar," translated by Rev. J. M. Neale (London, 1860). Also, "Prælectiones de Liturgiis Orientalibus, habitæ in Universitate Friburgensi Helvetiæ, a Maximiliano, principe Saxoniæ. Friburgi Briscoviæ, sumptibus Herder, Typographi editoris pontificii. MCMVIII." Also "Liturgies Eastern and Western," by F. E. Brightman (Oxford, 1896).

bolism. Though screened from the eyes of the people by the ikonostasis, save at such moments when the doors are opened, the ceremonies are essentially more spectacular and dramatic than is the Roman function. The service in ordinary daily use is the liturgy of Saint Chrysostom, an abbreviation of that of Saint Basil. The latter is said on Christmas and Epiphany, when falling on Sunday or Monday, otherwise on their eves, and on the first Tuesday after Christmas. The liturgy of the presanctified, which will be explained later, is said on Wednesday and Friday of the first six weeks of Lent, on Thursday of the fifth week, and on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week, and may be said on certain other days of Lent. In the Orthodox Church mass may be said only once a day at a given altar. In the large churches the three masses celebrated on the great feast must be said by different priests at the three altars in turn. The Greek Catholic Church permits the same altar to be used more than once the same day.

The number of extant Syrian liturgies—both Jacobite and Maronite—is over forty. The Old Syrian or Jacobite Church still uses a great number of these. The printed Maronite collection contains eight and the Syrian Catholic seven. At my request a comparison between the two collections was made by a professor in a Syrian Catholic seminary, who found that they have three in common, being identical not only in title, but in substance, *i. e.*, those of Saint James, Saint Peter, and Saint Zystos, the pope. The liturgy most commonly used by the Maronites is an adaptation of the Roman mass.[1] In general much liberty is left to the celebrant in the use of these various anaphoræ, though some are appointed for feast days and other occasions.[2] For example, in the Maronite Church the anaphora of Saint James should be said not only on his feast, but also

[1] Prince Maximilian states (tomus I, p. 12) that this liturgy was composed by the Maronites in Syriac, having some prayers similar to those in the Roman rite, but I was informed on authority at the Beyrout Maronite College that it is mainly a translation from the Roman mass.

[2] I was assured by a Maronite chorepiscopus that he was at liberty to use any one of the eight anaphoræ to the exclusion of all the rest.

at the consecration of priests. In this church mass may be celebrated at the same altar by different priests succeeding each other on the same day. The Jacobite Church absolutely forbids this Roman practice, thus agreeing with the Greek Orthodox.

While confession before communion is obligatory in all the Eastern churches under consideration, the discipline is not always imposed with severity. The Oriental Greek Church provides a long and elaborate order of confession, to be read separately over each person desiring to communicate. In it the doctrine is clearly set forth that, while the priest has authority to pronounce absolution, confession is not made to him, but through him to Almighty God, who alone can forgive sin. To follow this long order would be impracticable in the case of a large number of penitents, and a parish priest tells me that it is now rarely used, a short informal service, without book, being substituted. The people may be confessed in church or in their own homes. The priest repeats the ten commandments, demanding whether these have been broken. He may put other questions, the number and character varying with his knowledge of the penitent, but the minute catechising, sometimes obtaining in the Roman Church, is unknown or is at least very rare. For the absolution may be repeated any one of the seven prayers to be found in the formal order of confession. In Jerusalem and vicinity, to the rule of the Orthodox Church that no priest who has not been married may confess the people, is added the further practical restriction that a priest may not hear confession unless he is the father of children! In fact, until that time he is not called "khûri," but only "qussîs," a term also applied to a celibate priest or monk in orders. Penance is imposed in the Greek Church, but the sacrament has never developed into the elaborate system found in the West.

Confession is technically required in the Syrian-Jacobite Church, but laxity in enforcing this sacrament has been charged upon the Jacobite priests since the time of the Crusaders. Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre in 1217, declared that the Jacobites "confess their sins not to priests,

but to God alone in secret, setting frankincense on fire beside them, as though their sins would ascend to God in the smoke thereof."[1] In recent times Parry makes the broad generalization that confession is "almost obsolete" in this church.[2] He adds that it is doubtful if it ever implied any more than a formal confession of sin, as it is the custom, where confession is made, for several to confess together at the steps of the altar. Parry's statemen. was only partially confirmed for northern Syria, where I was informed that the service might be read over a number of penitents together, but that each must make confession separately. According to another account given me by a man from Mosul, the penitent kneels by himself before the priest, who is seated on the floor of the church. After repeating the formula of confession, and detailing his sins, the penitent answers the questions of the priest, who then gives good advice and pronounces absolution. Women must never confess to an unmarried priest. A Jacobite told me that his father received especial permission from the bishop to commune without confession. The laxity of the Jacobite clergy in this matter is further illustrated by the case of two American travellers to whom, quite recently, the Jacobite priest of Sudud (on the edge of the Syrian desert) insisted on giving the communion at the mass, even when they declared themselves to be Protestants who do not confess to a priest.

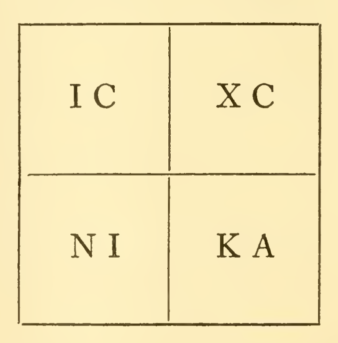
In the Greek Church[3] the liturgy is preceded by an elaborate service, lasting about an hour, during which the elements are prepared for consecration. At the time of the great schism, one of the chief questions in dispute was whether leavened or unleavened bread should be used in the communion. The Eastern church stood for the former,

[1] "Historia Hierosolymitana Abbreviata." Latin found in Bongars's "Gesta Dei per Francos." Our quotation is from the translation in the eleventh volume of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's Works, p. 73.

[2] "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," p. 342, by Oswald H. Parry (London, 1895).

[3] When no exception is stated, it may be assumed that under this phrase the Greek Catholic Church is also included.

the Church of Rome for the latter. After its closer union with Rome, the Maronite Church adopted the use of the leavened bread, as have also the Abyssinian Catholics, but the other Uniate churches still follow the Eastern custom. The Greek Catholic Church, in its Council of 1806, declared the matter to be indifferent, thus justifying its own use of the leavened bread while at the same time not condemning the Roman practice.[1] In the Greek churches—both Orthodox and United—the loaves or cakes used in the ordinary mass are furnished by the priest, being usually prepared by his wife with the family baking. They measure about five inches in diameter and one-half inch in thickness. They are solid all through, and not hollow, as is much of the native bread. In the centre is stamped a seal measuring



one and a half inches across, with an abbreviation of the Greek sentence: Ἰησοῦς χριστός Νικᾷ ("Jesus Christ conquers"). This seal is known in ordinary Arabic as the "je'sed," or body. The whole cake is called the "qurbân," or the "oblation." On the Saturdays especially set apart for the commemoration of the dead (as well as on other similar but less formal occasions) loaves or cakes of precisely the same kind are furnished by the people.

Several varying customs obtain in the Jacobite Church in the matter of furnishing the bread. I was told by a former "deacon" in northern Syria that the people used to bring

[1] The acts of this council were never ratified by Rome.

flour to the church on Saturday night in small bags. The priest, after noting the amount brought by each, would mix the portions together, so that each contributor might feel that his flour entered into the composition of the one loaf to be consecrated later. He then would sift the flour, reserving the finer portion for the church and keeping the rest himself. The dough should be kneaded by a virgin, or by a young man, and baked in the house, not in the public oven. The cakes are much smaller and thinner than those used in the Greek Church, being barely two inches across. They may be stamped in several ways: with crosses, or with a dozen rosettes, divided in four parts by a cross (the specimen of this variety which I have seen came from a Syriac Catholic Church), or, on Maundy Thursday, with the emblem of a lamb.[1] My north Syrian informant added that at the present time it is customary for the people to substitute for the weekly contribution of flour a certain amount of corn, presented to the priest annually. A similar custom holds at Mosul, where the people at odd times may make contributions of flour to the qandaleft, or sexton, who is responsible for the making up of the loaves. In Mardin the flour is said to be bought by the church.

The Preparation of the elements is performed at the table of oblations or small altar in the prothesis; but, as has already been stated, this may be no more than a shelf in a niche of the east wall, to the north of the high altar. In Arabic the small table or niche is called the medhbaḣ, or altar of sacrifice, and the high altar, simply the mayyidi, or the table. While the Preparation[2] is in progress the people may be present in the nave of the church, if they so desire, but they see and hear nothing of the service which is said

[1] The Abyssinian oblation sometimes bears the figures of Christ and the twelve Apostles.

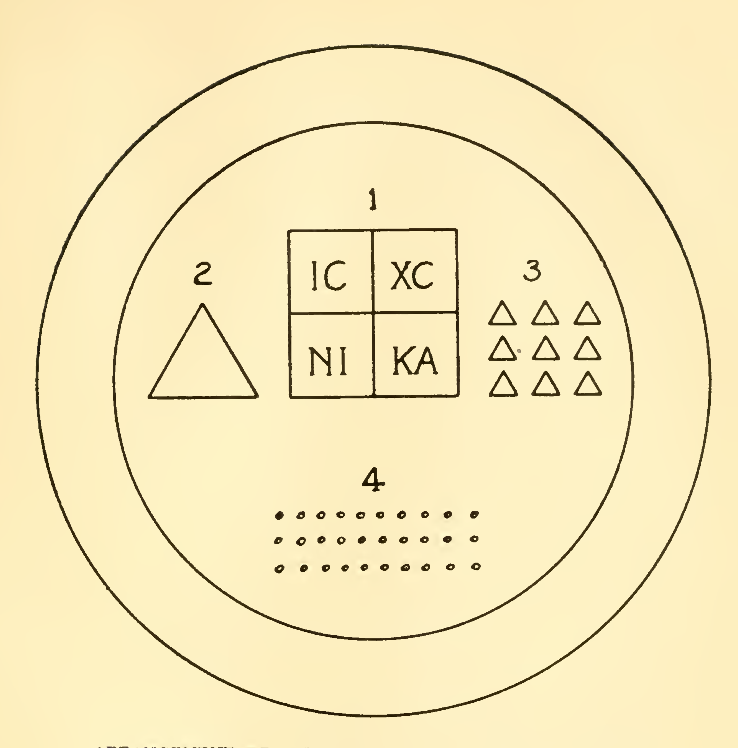
[2] At least two forms of this service exist. One simply called "The Arrangement" may be found in a work in Greek and English called "The Divine and Sacred Liturgies of Our Fathers among the Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great," edited by J. N. W. Robertson (London). In the liturgy published in Greek and Arabic at the

"secretly," or whispered, as indeed are many prayers of the liturgy itself. The service begins with the sacrifice. For this is used one of the five stamped loaves, called oblations, or qurbâns which the priest has brought into the sanctuary, in commemoration of the five loaves of the miraculous feeding.[1] This chosen loaf is called the *πρώτη*. Taking this in his left hand, the priest, using a small knife called the lance, with his right cuts out the stamped seal, or the "je′sed" (leaving, however, the under crust intact), quoting at each incision phrases from the passage beginning "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter" (Isaiah 53). The seal is then placed inverted on the paten for the sacrifice. This is symbolized by two deep incisions made in the form of a cross (corresponding to the divisions of the seal), but these do not penetrate the upper crust, which thus serves to hold the parts together when the seal is turned right side upward on the paten. The priest then pierces the right side with the lance, repeating the verse describing the piercing of our Lord's side from which came forth water and blood. Immediately the deacon—or the priest, if there be no deacon present—pours wine and water into the chalice.

After the sacrifice there follows the preparation for the commemoration of the living and the dead. The seal occupies the centre of the paten. To the right of this is now placed, in commemoration of the Virgin, a triangle of bread smaller than the seal. This may be cut from one of the other four cakes or from the remaining portion of the qurbân, or oblation, from which the seal has been taken for the sacrifice. I was told by a parish priest, who explained the service to me, that this oblation was held in more especial honor than the rest. In a similar way, nine still smaller portions—tiny triangles that would be formed by

press of the Holy Sepulchre, in Jerusalem, 1907, the service of preparation is divided into two parts, the first part is used during the robing of the priest, the washing of hands, etc., and the second during the actual preparation of the elements. The first portion differs considerably in detail from the corresponding part in the London publication.

[1] In the Syrian and Coptic Churches three or more cakes are brought into the sanctuary, but only one is consecrated.



ARRANGEMENT OF PORTIONS OF HOLY BREAD ON PATEN

1. The "Seal" cut from the centre of the Communion Loaf.
2. Large triangle to commemorate the Virgin.
3. Small triangles to commemorate the Archangels, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, etc.
4. Crumbs to commemorate the Patriarch or Bishop, Clergy and People—living and dead.



the tip of the lance—are arranged to the left of the seal, to commemorate the archangels, prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints, and doctors of the church. The patriarch, or bishop, of the diocese, founders of the church, clergy, and people (living and dead) are symbolized by crumbs placed below the seal, to an indefinite number.[1] The crumbs may be taken from any one of the five loaves. At the close of the preparation these portions, small and great, are gathered together with a sponge under the seal, awaiting the consecration at the liturgy itself. In the meantime the paten is covered with three veils, the corner of which rests on the asterisk, a sort of frame preventing the lowest veil from contact with the holy bread. The portions of the oblations not thus reserved for consecration and communion are cut up by the sexton, to constitute the anti-doron, or blessed bread, which is distributed to the people after the liturgy, in the manner of the *pain beni* used in France.[2] As the remaining portions of the oblation from which the seal, or "body," has been cut are mingled with the rest, they are held to lend a certain sanctity to all. The commemoration itself immediately succeeds the consecration in the liturgy.

On the two Saturdays dedicated to the commemoration of the dead (one falling eight days before Lent and the other on the Saturday before the Transfiguration) each family may bring to the church five oblations, or loaves of their own baking, wrapped in a cloth, with a paper inscribed with names of their dead. Money for the priest is also enclosed. During the preparation the priest takes crumbs from one of the five loaves to symbolize the commemoration of the dead in a particular family. At the end of the mass the head of each family receives back his qurbân, or oblation (minus the parts used in commemoration), wrapped in the cloth. The rest of the loaves, which at any given time may number scores, are at the disposal of the priest, to break up for distribution, to give away whole, or to take

[1] Over the medhbaḥ where the preparation is made sometimes hangs a paper with a list of people to be commemorated.

[2] It is said that the most ascetic among the Russian monks takes no other food in Lent but this anti-doron.

home, as he pleases. This practice is not confined to the Saturdays mentioned above, but may obtain whenever the dead are especially commemorated.

These oblations furnished by the people in commemoration must not be confused with the large loaves brought to the church on the saint's day of some worshipper, who by giving notice of his intention "pre-empts the feast." For example, in a given church there may be several men by the name of Thomas, but only one can celebrate Saint Thomas's day in this way. The loaves, which are sometimes eighteen inches across, are stamped in the centre with a seal of the usual form, but of larger size, while five smaller stamps appear around the circumference. They do not bear the name oblation. All five are blessed by the priest at an especial service in the nave, but no portions of them are consecrated. One loaf may be taken by the priest for himself, one by the sexton, another may be broken up for distribution after the service, and the other two may be returned to the man keeping the feast to take home, as a blessing. A Beyrout priest tells me that this practice is now moribund.

The preparation of the elements in the Syrian Church is conducted in the southern part of the sanctuary. The elaborate ceremony above described, including the cutting out and sacrificing of the seal and the arrangement of the commemorative portions of the bread around it on the paten, is confined to the Holy Orthodox Church and to its derivative the Greek Catholic. For the commemoration of the living and the dead in the Syrian and Maronite liturgies, no such symbolism is used. In the Jacobite churches in Mardin, just before the commemoration the priest advances to the door of the sanctuary and reads from a list those names for whose mention money has been paid. Similar lists are known in the Syrian Catholic Churches at Hums. At the time of the commemoration the priest makes the sign of the cross over the paper and over the paten. In the Syrian churches, however, the distribution of the antidoron (Syriac: burctho) at the close of the mass occupies an even more prominent feature than it does in the Greek.

In some cases the number of cakes that a man receives is in direct proportion to the amount of flour he has contributed. Many of these cakes are taken home by the bishop to be distributed to the people at his reception after the service. On Maundy Thursday, at Mosul, each churchgoer is entitled to receive two of these cakes, which the sexton has brought to the church in two large sacks.[1]

The scope of the present work forbids a detailed analysis of the liturgies themselves. A few words, however, may be said regarding some peculiar features connected with the kiss of peace and with the communion itself. Under one form or another the kiss of peace finds a place in all ancient liturgies, Eastern and Western, but in the Syrian Church it is given a very especial prominence, in a ceremony which vividly symbolizes the actual kiss exchanged by members of the early church. That the form of this ceremony varies in different churches may be indicated by a comparison, which the reader may make for himself, between the account found here and that given by Parry in his "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery."[2] Though retained by the Syrian Catholics as a body, I am told that the practice has fallen into disuse in the cathedral church in Beyrout. The following account I received from a minor "deacon." After the recital of the creed, the serving deacon advances to the priest, holding up the chain of the censer for him to kiss; this deacon then kisses the priest's hand as well as the gospel, after which he presents the chain for the other deacons in the sanctuary to kiss; then, advancing to the door of the sanctuary, he holds up the chain in view of the congregation, while the chief man of the church comes forward, kisses the chain, and then smooths down his cheeks and the sides of his body, as if to communicate the blessing to his whole frame; then, turning to the nearest worshipper, he draws the two palms of the hands of the latter between his own, thus passing on the peace (salaam), and again smooths down his own cheeks and body; in a similar way the man who

[1] The anti-doron should be blessed by the priest before distribution, but I gather that this is not always done.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 340.

has just received the peace may pass it on to a number of worshippers, each one of whom may do the same, so that in a short time the whole congregation has shared in the blessing. It is interesting to note that when the Moslem procession bearing the sacred flags to Neby Mûsa, or the shrine of Moses, passes along the streets of Jerusalem, the by-standers smooth down their faces and bodies in a similar manner. It may be added here that at different points of the Syrian mass the deacons beat cymbals and jingle fans which consist of long staves, having a round plate at the top encircled with bells. In the Eastern churches, especially in those not united to Rome, the people cummunicate infrequently, usually only at Easter and at Christmas, and perhaps on the day of the patron saint of the communicant. In the Jacobite Churches of Mosul the Easter communion is made preferably on Maundy Thursday, in direct commemoration of the institution.

The Church of Rome, followed by the Maronite, differs from the purely Eastern churches in allowing the laity communion in one kind only.[1] In the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches alone, however, do the people partake of the wine separately. In the other churches there is considerable variation in the manner of combining the two elements. We have seen that in the Greek Church the priest consecrates only the seal which has been cut out from the oblation, together with the commemorative fragments and crumbs. During the Fraction he breaks the seal into four parts, arranging them in the form of a cross on the paten. The part marked IC he puts in the chalice, after which he adds warm water to the wine; the part marked XC he partakes of himself, sharing with the deacon and bishop, if they be present. Priest and deacon then partake thrice of the cup; the other two parts, marked NI and KA, together with the commemorative fragments, are also put in the cup. In communicating the people, the priest mentions each person by name, giving each with a spoon a minute portion of the fragment

[1] The practice which grew up in the Roman Church of withholding the wine from the laity was made binding only in 1563 at the Council of Trent.

marked IC, soaked in the wine. The rest of the sop is consumed at the close of the service by the deacon or priest. On certain week days in Lent, when the mass of the presanctified is said without consecration, the priest does not partake of the cup. At the consecration of the bread which has taken place the previous Sunday, the priest has crossed the bread with consecrated wine three times, so this element enters into the communion, but in a dried form. Wine is poured into the chalice, as in ordinary masses, but in the procession around the church, with the paten and chalice previous to their being placed on the high altar, the priest carries the chalice in his left hand, instead of in his right, to signify that it contains only ordinary wine, not destined to be transmuted into the blood of Christ.[1] The Armenian practice is not unlike the Greek, though the whole oblation or cake is consecrated. This the priest immerses in the wine, so that it may become entirely permeated. After partaking himself of the soaked bread and then of the wine, he holds the cake down into the full cup with one hand, and with the other he breaks off a tiny fragment, dips it again into the wine, and gives to each communicant. In the Syrian churches, while the priest and deacon commune in both kinds separately, the people receive hardly more than a symbol of the wine, as the cake is merely moistened, here and there, in crossing lines, made by a bit of the cake which the priest has previously broken off and dipped into the chalice.[2] The priest does not call the communicants by name. The Maronite Church strictly follows the Roman, not only in the use of the unleavened wafer, but in communicating the laity in one kind only. I am informed that the Abyssinian Catholics also observe the Roman practice.

[1] This is stated on the authority of a parish priest.

[2] At the Coptic and Abyssinian communion the cake is similarly crossed by the wine, though the people partake also of the cup.

II. Baptism, Marriage, and Burial

There is no fixed rule, applying to all the Eastern churches, to govern the position of the baptismal font. In the Greek churches this is sometimes found in the south-west corner of the nave. In the Greek Catholic Church the south end of the sanctuary may be used as a baptistery. In the Jacobite Churches baptisms may be celebrated at the north end. Among the Greeks, baptisms are common in private houses, but this practice is forbidden by the Jacobites. While the baptismal services differ in detail in the different Eastern churches under consideration, they have the following salient features in common: the exorcising of the evil spirit; the blessing of the water; the anointing of the child with oil; the clothing of the child in white garments. In all churches but the Maronite a second sacrament, that of confirmation by use of the holy chrism, or the meirûn, immediately follows.

In the service books of the Greek Church the exorcising of the evil spirit is a part of a ceremony called the Making of a Catachumen[1] immediately preceding the actual service of baptism. When delivered in the sonorous Arabic, with the clear enunciation that marked the utterance of a priest who conducted a private baptism in my hearing, these prayers are most impressive. The following extract from the first exorcism follows the excellent translation of Dr. Wortabet:[2]

"The Lord God who became incarnate and dwelt among men, that he may break thy violence and save mankind, rebukes thee, O Satan. . . . I conjure thee by God who manifested the tree of life and appointed cherubims with a flaming sword to keep and preserve it. I conjure thee by him who walked upon the sea as upon dry land, who re-

[1] Thus it is named in the "Book of Needs of the Holy Orthodox Church," done into English by G. V. Shann (London, 1894). The Arabic service book containing the rites of baptism, marriage, burial, etc., is called "Agiasmatari-el-Kebîr" (Beyrout, 1884).

[2] "Religion in the East," *op. cit.*, p. 23.

buked the storm, whose looks dry up the deeps and at whose threats the mountains melt. He now commands thee by us to fear and come out and depart from this creature; and neither to return to him nor to be concealed in him, nor to meet him with any evil act by day or by night, at the middle of the day, or any other hour; but do thou go to Tartarus appointed for thee, until the great day of judgment. . . . Come out and depart from him who has been sealed and elected to be a new soldier of Jesus Christ our God. I conjure thee by him who walked on the wings of the wind and who makes his angels a flame of fire. Come out and depart from this creature, thou and all thy powers and angels!"

After the three exorcisms the priest breathes on the child's body "in the manner of a cross," saying: "Dispel from him every evil and polluted spirit which may lurk in his heart—the spirit of error, and evil, and idolatry, and intemperance, and excess, the spirit of lying and of all abomination produced by the suggestion of the devil. Grant him to be a rational lamb in the holy flock of Christ, an honorable member of thy church . . . and thus attain the joy of thy saints in the kingdom."

With the Maronites the exorcisms are also three, two being uttered at the door of the church, where the priest receives the child. Besides breathing "crosswise" on the child's face, the priest blesses some salt which he puts in the child's mouth, saying: "Receive, O child, this salt of wisdom that it may benefit thee to everlasting life."[1] In the second exorcism are found the words: "I adjure thee, thou evil and accursed spirit, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, that thou depart from this thy servant in the strength of the Lord Christ, by which he walked on the waves of the sea as if it were dry land, and in the strength by which he put forth his hand and saved Peter when he was about to sink." After the third exorcism, which takes place within the church itself (following the recital of the Lord's Prayer and of the Nicene Creed), the priest, placing his hand on the nose of the child, says:

[1] This practice appears to be borrowed from the Latin church.

"Open, O nostrils, and breathe in the sweet odors of God, and flee thou accursed one baffled because the judgment of God is upon thee."[1] I have not examined the Jacobite service, but I am told that the exorcisms are brief, being uttered "secretly" by the priest.

In the Greek Church the service for making catachumens concludes with an elaborate catechism or dialogue between the priest and the child represented by his or her godparent. The questions are pressed with solemn iteration. Turning the candidate to face the west, the priest first asks three times: "Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works, etc?" and then again three times, as if to place the matter beyond any possible doubt: "Hast thou renounced the devil?" After the last answer the priest exclaims: "Spit on the devil!" which command is supposed to be obeyed by the godparent at once. In the same way, after the godparent with the child in the arms has been turned to face the east, come the questions, each put three times: "Dost thou make a covenant with Christ?" and "Hast thou made a covenant with Christ?" After the recital of the creed, which is to be repeated three times, the last question is asked once more, after which follows a short prayer that the child may be made worthy of baptism.

In the Maronite service the catechising of the child as to its belief (through the godparent) takes place after the anointing. Thus in both the Byzantine and Maronite services two identical ideas are emphasized before the act of baptism: the expulsion of the evil spirit and the acceptance of the faith. In the private Greek baptism which I witnessed the child was taken off to be undressed after the catechising.

The Greek baptismal service proper begins with several prayers followed by the consecration of the water. In the prayer of consecration occur the following petitions: "Make it a fountain of immortality, granting sanctity, forgiving

[1] See the book containing the rites of baptism, betrothal, marriage, extreme unction, etc., printed at Rome in 1840, in "Karshuni," with the Latin title: "Ritus administrandi nonnulla sacram., ad usum eccl. Antiochena Maronitarum."

sins, dispelling desires, destroying devils, unapproachable to satanic powers, full of angelic power. . . . We pray that no evil spirit may descend with the baptized into it. . . . And do thou, O Lord, who has bestowed on us from above regeneration by water and by the spirit, come upon this water, and grant the candidate for baptism to be changed by his putting off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and by putting on the new man, which is created anew after the image of his Creator, etc." [1] Later a large cross is made on the water by dropping in the consecrated oil.

In the Maronite service the priest lets fall three drops of tallow from a lighted candle into the water, saying: "In this water man is regenerated by a new birth, and becomes the first-born of Heaven. . . . Drive out, O Lord, every evil spirit and every satanic wile from this water, that nothing opposed to the mystery of baptism may have influence in it, now or forever." The priest also breathes on the water, plunges into it a lighted candle, and puts in it some of the oil of baptism as well as some of the meirûn, or holy chrism, a practice held in common with the Jacobites.

In the consecration of the holy oil among the Greeks the priest breathes upon it praying that it may become "an unction of immortality, a weapon of righteousness, a regeneration of soul and body." The priest then anoints the child in the form of a cross on forehead, breast, back, ears, feet, and hands, with appropriate sentences, as, for example, in anointing the ears "for the hearing of faith"; in anointing the feet "that he may walk in thy paths." It is interesting to note here that the Moslems in their required ablutions before prayer may use similar petitions appropriate to the washing of the various members. Thus, in washing the ears they say: "Make me, O God, to be of those who hear thy word and perform it!" The Maronites anoint the breast and shoulders of the child. According to Parry, the Jacobite practice is to anoint the whole body.

Triple immersion is obligatory with the Greeks, who recognize the validity of no other form; is sometimes prac-

[1] Translation of Dr. Wortabet, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

tised by the Jacobites; and is not forbidden to the Maronites, who once uniformly practiced it. With the Greeks the infant is passed three times rapidly through the water, first in the name of the Father, then in the name of the Son, and lastly in the name of the Holy Spirit. When I saw the rite performed, the priest first straightened the arms of the infant, clutched it firmly with one hand, and kept the mouth and nostrils closed with the fingers of the other, so as to prevent choking during the process of immersion. With the Maronites, the baptism is performed by pouring a handful of water on the child's head three times, once for each person of the Trinity. In the Jacobite Church immersion may be complete, as with the Greeks, or partial, by dipping the child up to its neck three times in the font (so Parry). In some cases the child is held erect in the font, with the water up to its neck, while the priest pours three handfuls of water on its head.

After a Greek baptism the priest dries the child with a towel and clothes it in a white robe, cap, and girdle, offering an appropriate prayer. He then proceeds with the second sacrament of confirmation, anointing the child on the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet with the holy chrism, or meirûn, consecrated by a patriarch[1] and twelve bishops. Though performed by a priest, confirmation, with the Greeks, as truly as with the Latins, is a purely episcopal function, the priest acting merely as representative of the bishop. The meirûn, so a learned Greek prelate explained to me, symbolizes the episcopal laying on of hands. In the Jacobite Church the rite of the chrism may precede the dressing of the child, in cases where the chrismatic oil is smeared over the whole body, a practice common but not universal.[2] Sometimes the little baptismal suit of clothes is owned by the church. This must be returned after the "ghusl," performed by the priest the same

[1] See p. 162.

[2] In Mosul the priest touches the different parts of the child's body with his thumb, which has been smeared with the meirûn, then pours the rest in the palm of his own hand, with which he scours the child's head.

day or the day after, when the meirûn is washed off. With the Greeks this washing is appointed to be done in church by the priest seven days after the baptism, an observance made much of by the Hellenic Greeks. In Syria, however, the meirûn is usually washed off at once by the godmother quite informally, unless the priest happens to be present, in which case he may say one of the appointed prayers. Both the water of baptism and the water of the washing should be poured off in some clean place, to escape pollution.

With the Maronites the priest washes the child before clothing it in a white veil, and immediately after anointing its forehead with the meirûn, the latter ceremony being a curious instance of a symbol surviving the thing symbolized, and recalling the old times when the Maronite infants like all other Syrians were confirmed immediately after baptism. Confirmation is now administered, according to the Roman custom, to children of seven years old and upward, during an episcopal visitation.

In the Greek and Syrian Churches, the child, having been confirmed in full membership by use of the chrism, may now be communicated. According to the Greek usage, the priest places, with a spoon, on the tongue of the infant a minute bit of the sop, brought in a small vial. With the Jacobites, the wafer is passed over the lips of the child and then given to the godparent to eat. The formal services always terminate with a procession around the church, or room, where the baptism has been performed. The priest then takes down, for registration at the patriarchate, the baptismal name, which is that of the patron saint and may be quite different from the name by which the child is actually to be called.

Before celebrating a marriage between two people in any one of the Eastern churches, the priest must ascertain the exact degree of relationship which may exist between them. This is especially important in view of two facts: not only is it the custom for a youth to seek a bride among his relations, but the fee for the episcopal or patriarchal

license to marry within the prohibited degrees varies with the nearness of the relationship. In computing the degree of relationship the Eastern church counts all persons up to the common ancestors. For example, first cousins are said to be related in the fourth degree; an uncle and his niece in the third degree; children of first cousins in the sixth degree. The Greek Church prohibits marriage (without especial license) in the sixth degree. In no case may first cousins marry. According to the acts of the Council of the Lebanon the Maronites are forbidden to marry within the eighth degree, Eastern computation, fourth degree, Latin computation. Licenses, however, cover the marriage of first cousins.[1]

In Syria and Palestine the usual time for solemnizing weddings is Sunday. At the village of Mahardy, in northern Syria, where the population is Greek Orthodox, there is but one wedding day in the year, usually a Sunday in October. The priest goes from house to house, reading the marriage service over each couple in an abbreviated form. The festivities, however, are celebrated in common during four or five days when the whole village thinks of nothing else.

In the ritual of the Greek Church the offices of betrothal and coronation (the marriage proper) constitute two separate services. For a second marriage the two are combined in the abbreviated office called simply a marriage service. In former years in Syria the betrothal service was used at the time of the actual engagement to marry, which might precede the wedding by an indefinite period. The sanctity of the service, however, was threatened by the scandal of broken engagements, hence some twenty years ago, so I am told, the formal betrothal service was postponed to the time of the wedding, and a shorter service was authorized for the time of contract, it being stipulated that the party breaking the engagement should pay a certain sum.

[1] Divorce is permitted by the Greek Church but not by the Uniate Bodies. A Greek lawyer informed me that a man may divorce his wife for adultery and for conspiring to kill him. A woman may divorce her husband on the latter but not on the former ground.

For the betrothal the Eastern churches use rings. The Greek rubric prescribes a gold ring for the man and a silver ring for the woman, but as far as I am aware the distinction is no longer made in Syria, both rings being of gold. According to the rubric, before putting on the rings the priest first pronounces the engagement formula three times over the man: "The servant of God, M, is betrothed to the handmaid of God, N, in the name, etc.," signing him each time in the form of a cross, touching his forehead with his ring. He then pronounces the same formula over the woman (names being inverted), signing her forehead with her ring. Finally, he signs the forehead of each with two rings held together. This practice is sometimes elaborated in Syria as follows: At each repetition of the formula over the man the priest touches his forehead with his ring, then the woman's forehead with the same, then, as he adds "In the name of, etc.," he makes the sign of the cross by touching with the ring the groom's forehead, breast, right shoulder, and left shoulder. The same process, *mutatis mutandis,* is repeated with the woman's ring. The betrothal ends with a long prayer.

In the Eastern churches the marriage office is called the coronation, from the "crowns" used during the ceremony. Indeed, a Syrian, in announcing his marriage, will say: "I have been crowned for such a girl." The following is the order in the Greek Church, as found in Syria and Palestine: Lighted candles being placed in the hands of the bridal pair, the priest reads the 128th Psalm, with responses to be chanted by the singers. After this follows a species of litany not found in the Russian service, which substitutes questions to bride and groom regarding their intentions to marry and their freedom from other matrimonial engagements. The three prayers that follow are practically the same in both the Syrian and Russian services. The first two prayers are long, and teem with Scriptural references to the married state. Among many other things, supplication is made that the pair may enjoy the blessings that were granted to Abraham and Sarah, to Isaac and Rebecca, to Jacob and Rachel, to Joseph and Asenath, to Moses and

Zipporah, to Zacharias and Elizabeth;[1] that they may receive the protection extended to Noah in the ark, to Jonah in the belly of the whale, to the three children in the fire; and that they may have a chaste life; love for one another in the bond of peace; grace upon their children and grandchildren; houses full of corn and wine; all earthly blessings, and an unfading crown of glory.

The last prayer, in part, is as follows: "O Thou Holy God who formed man from dust, and fashioned the woman from his side, and joined her to him for a helpmate, for thus it pleased thy Majesty that man should not be alone upon the earth; do Thou now, O Lord, stretch forth thy hand from thy holy habitation and unite thy servant M to thy handmaid N, for from thee proceeds the union of man and woman, etc." At the mention of the names in the foregoing prayer, the priest hooks together the little fingers of their right hands, which so remain during the rest of the service.

The priest then takes a wreath of flowers, called the "crown," and touches the man's head, saying the words: "The servant of God, M, is crowned for the servant of God, N, in the name, etc." Then touching the woman's head with the same crown, he says the words a second time; finally, the crown is placed on the man's head while the formula is said for the third time.[2] Then follows the crowning of the woman "for the man" in a precisely similar way. Then the priest, stretching out his crossed arms toward the heads of the pair, announces the blessing of the crowns three times: "May the Lord our God crown them with glory and honor."[3] Here follows the Epistle (Eph. 5 : 20) and the Gospel (Saint John 2 : 1). After more prayers

[1] In the Moslem marriage ceremony the qâdhi (judge) prays for such mutual love upon the pair as existed between Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Moses and Zipporah, Mohammed and Ayesha, etc. See p. 288.

[2] The rubric requires that the formula should be said three times over each one, but the touching of the woman's head with the man's crown, and *vice-versa*, is merely popular practice.

[3] During the first blessing the right arm is crossed over the left; during the second, the left over the right, and finally, during the last, the right over the left again.

and some chanting, the congregation repeats the Lord's Prayer.

The priest then takes a cup of wine and blesses it with the following prayer: "O God, who created all things by thy power, and confirmed the inhabited earth by thy might, and adorned the crown of all things created by thyself, bless with a spiritual blessing this cup of communion, etc." This is not the sacramental wine, but the name cup of communion ("common cup" or "shared cup") indicates that it symbolizes the spiritual union of man and woman. Of this wine both partake three times. Then the priest leads the married pair around in a circle, while the groomsman holds on their crowns from behind. Then, as he takes off their crowns, the priest says, first to the man: "May God magnify thee, O bridegroom, as Jacob, and may He bless thee as Isaac, and may He give thee increase like Jacob. Live thou in peace, and follow in righteousness the commandments of God." And then to the woman: "And thou, O bride, may God magnify thee as Sarah, and may He make thee joyful as Rebecca, and give thee increase like Rachel. Be glad with thy husband, and keep the law of chastity without sin, for this is well-pleasing to God." Eight days after the marriage the priest is supposed to take off the crowns with the prayer given in the manual, but this practice has now lapsed in Syria.

In the Maronite Church the betrothal with rings and the "coronation," or marriage ceremony, are united in a single service. A formal engagement used to be read at the time of contract, but this has now lapsed in the usage. The marriage service begins with the blessing of the rings by the priest. In presenting these he says to each in turn: "May the right hand of the Lord be given unto thee with grace." Then follows the blessing of the "crowns," which may be either wreaths or rosaries. At a Lebanon church wedding which I attended, the wreaths were made of natural flowers: roses and carnations, with green leaves. After the Epistle (Eph. 5 : 22–23) and the Gospel (Matt. 19 : 3–6) follows a prayer in which the Lord is besought to bless the crowns to the pair with the blessing vouchsafed to Abraham and

Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachel. The pair are then crowned with the prayer that they may receive the crown of righteousness. The Greek custom of touching the bride's forehead with the groom's crown, and *vice-versa,* is not observed. A crown is also put on the head of the groomsman, or, if he be married, in his hand. The bridesmaid is also crowned. In the subsequent exhortation to the bridal prayer, the groom is urged to love his wife; not to insult her; not to strike her nor to curse her relations. The bride is urged not to disobey her husband unless he command her to sin; not to tell his secrets; not to come between him and his relations; not to answer him with bitter words. The priest then joins their right hands and pronounces the marriage formula in the name of the Trinity. After various prayers and responses the priest looses the hands of the pair and takes off the crowns, saying: "Thou who didst wear the crown of thorns to take from us the thorns of sin, remove from this pair these perishable crowns, and place upon them the crown that never perishes." The ceremony closes with another exhortation and a prayer.

At the Lebanon wedding at which I was present there followed a "procession," in which the bride did not join. A small space was cleared around which the priest circled, walking backward, thus facing the groom, who carried a veiled crucifix, followed by the singers, each carrying the half of a pair of cymbals which he clanged with a book. Behind these were boys with candles. The chanting was to a weird native tune. Indeed, all through the service even the amens were rendered in a sort of cadenza style, full of roulades and shakes and quirks. At the end the groom kissed the crucifix and then the priest's hand.

With the Syrians (Jacobites and Syrian Catholics) the "crowns" are not wreaths, but fillets or embroidered handkerchiefs. Taking a fillet in his hand, the priest holds it over the head of the groom, shaking it well, to symbolize the descent of the Holy Spirit, and uttering these words: "From Heaven has come this crown in the hands of our Saviour; and the priest will place it on the head of him who

deserves it." He then shakes the same fillet over the head of the bride, and once again over the head of the groom. A similar process is gone through with the bride's fillet.[1] The fillets are then tied around the necks of the pair, the ends being tucked under their clothes. In some places for the fillets are substituted embroidered handkerchiefs, which, after the shaking, are tied respectively to the tarboosh (fez) of the man and the head-gear of the woman. The groomsman has a handkerchief similar to the groom's. Moreover, around the necks of each of the three is bound a scarf, which is then crossed down over the back. These fillets or handkerchiefs should not be unloosed till the priest takes them off, with an especial prayer, sometimes within a day or two. In some places the handkerchiefs are then sent, for good luck, to unmarried friends. In neither the Maronite nor the Syrian service do the pair drink wine as with the Greeks.

With the Maronites the rite of extreme unction is administered when the person is supposed to be at the point of death. The service is in Arabic. The priest anoints the eyes with the sacred oil, praying that the sins of sight may be forgiven, and then anoints the ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, and feet. Reference is made in the final prayer to the commands of the Apostle James, to pray over the sick, anointing them with oil, and petition is made that the sick man may be restored to health. The Greeks emphasize, in the administration of the sacrament of unction, the feature indicated in the last phrase. The rite may be employed during any period of an illness, not being supposed to have any peculiar efficacy at the moment of death. Thus the idea of "extreme unction" is lacking. Confession and communion, however, are supposed to be administered while the dying man is still conscious, though nonobservance in case of a sudden death is not regarded as a calamity. "It was God's will," they say. The oil of unction is consecrated in a long and elaborate rite by seven priests twice a year. Sick people may be brought to the

[1] With the Jacobites a fillet is also shaken over an infant at baptism.

church at the time of this service, to be formally anointed by each priest separately. People, however, whenever they are sick, may anoint themselves with no formal rite, if they have by them at home a bit of cotton which has been soaked in the oil. Should the cotton become dry, the efficacy is not lost.

In the Greek Church the funeral service for laymen is very long, but about one-third of it may be omitted if the late hour of the day or other cause for haste should demand this.[1] As Easter week is a season of peculiar joy, the rubric directs that an abbreviated service should be used at this time always. The office for the burial of priests is almost twice as long as that for laymen; for example, five extracts are read from both Gospels and Epistles. There is also an especial service for monks as well as for infants.[2]

The service for laymen begins at the house, where the priest incenses the body, which has previously been washed, but with no especial prayer. As the procession is on the way to the church the priest intones chants. In the church itself, after various prayers and psalms, and a sort of litany with responses, there follows a series of eight odes, each ending with an apostrophe to the Virgin. After this series comes the Idiomela of John of Damascus, in eight parts, each part chanted to a different tone: quaint meditations on death, full of an old-world flavor. Then come the beatitudes, interspersed with more reflections, Epistle (Thess. 4 : 13–17) and Gospel (John 5 : 24–30). Here follows the chanted invitation to friends to advance and give the last kiss to the dead. Parts of this I give in free translation: "Come, O brothers, let us give the last kiss to the dead, thanking and praising God. For he has left his kinsfolk

[1] With all sects in the East burial takes place if possible on the day of the death.

[2] This service may be used for children up to the age of ten or twelve, except where the bishop insists on an earlier date for its discontinuance. The service assumes that the infant dies without sin. The Jacobite Church makes the same assumption and has an especial service. This church has separate burial offices for men and women, but they differ only in the Scripture lesson.

and relations, and now goes to the grave in haste. No more has he concern for the vanities of the flesh and its heavy toil. Where now are we his kinsfolk and his friends? For we are parted from him: therefore let us beseech the Lord to give him rest." This chant wanders on and on, in a leisurely strain of gentle melancholy, dwelling on the futility of this present life and on the barrenness and silence of the grave rather than on the joys of heaven, though these are touched upon. It closes with these words, put in the mouth of the dead man himself: "O brothers and friends and acquaintances and relatives, if ye take note of me lying here voiceless and deprived of breath, weep over me, all of you! For but yesterday I was speaking to you, and now suddenly the hour of dread death has come upon me. But approach all ye that love me, and kiss me with the last kiss, for never shall I walk with you again, nor hold converse with you. I depart now unto the Judge who knows no partiality and no respect of persons; for the slave and the master, the king and the warrior, the rich and the poor shall stand together in the same degree. Therefore, I beg that you pray Christ God for me unceasingly, that I be not appointed to the place of torment for my sins, but that He appoint my lot where is the light of life."

In the service for a child the invitation to give the last kiss is even still more touching: "Who would not weep, my child, at thy sad removal from this world? . . . For, like a bird, thou hast quickly flown before thy time, and to the Maker of all things hast taken thy course. O my child, who would not weep and lament to behold now faded the beauty of thy face, that once was like a rose for comeliness? . . . Come, O my friends and relatives and neighbors, that together we may kiss this child as we commit him to the grave."

The coffin being opened, opportunity is then given to the friends to kiss the dead. After more prayers the priest repeats three times in a loud voice these words: "Eternal is thy memory, O our brother; worthy of blessing and of lasting remembrance!" The absolution, pronounced over the corpse in the Russian service, is not found in the Arabic

manual. The body is then carried to the grave where it is sprinkled with dust in the form of a cross, and on it is poured the oil from the lamp, or else ashes are scattered from the censer.[1] The priest closes the service with the following words: "Glory be to God who thus has wrought!"

All the burial services in the Maronite Church are in Syriac. The especial office for a patriarch I attended on the occasion of the death of his Beatitude, Boulos Mes'ad, Maronite patriarch from 1854 to 1890. This was conducted in the small church attached to the convent of B'kerky, now a fine establishment, but at that time consisting of a humble group of buildings, which the Patriarch Boulos refused to improve or enlarge. "My Master lived on earth as a poor man," he is reported to have said; "why should his followers live in luxury?" On the day of the funeral the chancel was packed with priests, among whom a few Greek and Armenian Catholics chanted their own prayers before the Maronite rite began. In the chancel were also placed the distinguished guests: the pope's delegate, the French consul-general, the head of the Jesuit mission, and members of the Maronite nobility. Court and corridors were densely crowded, while Lebanon soldiers attempted to preserve order at the door of the church. The dead patriarch, dressed in full canonicals and covered with his orders, including the decoration of the Legion of Honor, received from Napoleon III, and the First Order of the Medjidie, conferred on him by the sultan, was seated upright in an arm-chair placed in an opening in the altar rails. In one hand was a large cross, in the other his pastoral staff. His refined, delicate face, framed by soft, silky white hair and beard, preserved in death his sweet and gentle expression. Behind him stood a priest on guard. After the burial service was closed by a simple and eloquent address given by one of the bishops, the patriarch's outer garments were changed, but the lace pallium sent from Rome was

[1] Dust and oil from the lamps are both used at the Jacobite funerals. The latter is applied over the clothes in the form of three large crosses.

again put upon him. Then followed a somewhat ghastly scene, as the chair was hoisted into the air and the dead prelate was borne by men in slow procession a number of times around the church, while the mitre shook and almost fell over. Outside the church the body was seated in a sort of sedan-chair with curtains, and carried to a large oak, where it rested during the delivery of speeches by a number of laymen. Then the bishops and chief guests returned to the convent for dinner, with more speeches, at least one of which contained a reference to the coming patriarch. In the meantime the sedan-chair had again been raised on the shoulders of peasants, who were bearing it two thousand feet or more up the steep mountain-side to the little village of 'Ashqût, where the patriarch had been born of poor and humble parents. Many relations followed with the peasants of the district. As the procession approached a village, the men of the place would come out and put their shoulders under the sedan-chair, to bear it to the next village. The interment was in a vault of the church of 'Ashqût, where, in accordance with the universal Eastern rule for the burial of bishops, the body of the patriarch was seated in a chair. At the church of Ghosta, referred to already, two bishops are buried in vaults or chambers in the thick walls of the church itself.

III. The Church Year

The Greek Orthodox and the Jacobite Churches still follow the Julian calendar, now thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar, to which, as we have seen, the bodies united to Rome, the Greek Catholic Melchites, the Syrian Catholics, and the Maronites now conform. In 1908 the ecumenical patriarch at Constantinople asked his synod to join him in the effort to have the calendar referred to a committee of scientific men chosen from the universities of the world, in order that they might adjust, finally, the chronological differences between the Eastern and the Western churches, which he declared to be matters quite removed from theology or churchmanship. The synod refused, but the in-

cident is significant.[1] The inconvenience to a community of maintaining a double calendar is great, as it involves a double dating of ordinary business letters, as, for example, October 22/November 4.

The Syrian ecclesiastical year begins with the 1st of October, which is still commemorated in the Maronite calendar.[2] The Greek year begins on the 1st of September. In all churches abstention from work is required on the great movable feasts. With the Maronites labor should also be suspended on twenty-two fixed feast days; with the Greeks, on twenty. Fourteen of these feasts fall theoretically on the same dates, though, owing to the difference of calendar, with the Greeks they are actually celebrated thirteen days later than the Maronites.[3]

The fasts of the Eastern church have always been more frequent and more rigorous than those of the Western. In the Greek communion they may amount to two hundred and twenty-six days of the year, including all Wednesdays and Fridays. Besides Lent there are three great periods of fasting. The Fast of the Nativity (Advent) lasts forty days; the Fast of the Apostles is variable in length, beginning with Whit-Monday and terminating on the eve of the Feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, June 29; there is also a fast of fourteen days preceding the Feast of the Repose of the Virgin, August 15. Meat, eggs, cheese, and milk are forbidden in all fasts. Fish may be eaten during the fasts of the Apostles and of the Nativity (except on Wednesdays and Fridays), and also on Palm Sunday and the Feast of the Transfiguration, which falls in the Fast of the Virgin. In the towns of Syria considerable laxity is said to prevail among the Orthodox in the matter of fasting. Theoreti-

[1] See article, "From Rome to Constantinople," describing an interview with the ecumenical patriarch, by Dr. Silas McBee ("The Churchman," June 3, 1911).

[2] See the complete Maronite calendar in my article on the Maronites, *op. cit.*, pp. 308–318. It contains a curious mixture of Eastern, Western, and local saints.

[3] For list of feasts when Maronites and Greeks forbid work, see Appendix.

cally, all these fasts are incumbent on the Greek Catholics, but many indulgences are granted.

In general the Jacobite fasts are the same as the Greek. However, the Fast of the Nativity lasts only fifteen days and that of the Apostles only twelve. During the third week before Lent the Syrians fast Mondays and Tuesdays as well as Wednesdays. This is called the Fast of Nineveh. The very strict are said to abstain absolutely from all food from the Sunday supper to the mid-day meal of Wednesday. The Syrian Catholics are granted many indulgences in the observance of these fasts. Fasting with the Maronites is even less severe. The Fast of the Nativity lasts only twelve days, that of the Apostles only four, and that of the Virgin, in August, only eight. Members of the Society of the Scapular of Our Lady of Mount Carmel abstain from meat on Saturdays as well as on Wednesdays and Fridays, when they also are forbidden eggs and milk.

Space forbids us to follow the Eastern ritual systematically, but some of the peculiar practices which take place during the ecclesiastical year may be briefly noticed. In the Maronite Church, on December 15, the priest consecrates two wafers; he partakes of one and the other he puts in the ciborium on the altar, to be elevated every evening from the 16th to the 24th, in commemoration of the nine months of the Virgin's pregnancy. On Christmas eve he partakes of the second wafer. Sometimes for this ceremony is substituted the carrying of the picture of the Infant Jesus around the church on the nine days preceding Christmas. In some of the larger Maronite churches may be found representations of mangers, with toy images of the Mother and Child, cattle, and sheep. This is quite unknown in the Greek churches, where images are not tolerated. There is a quaint ancient Christmas practice still obtaining in some of the Syrian churches of the interior —Catholic as well as Jacobite—to commemorate the vigil of the shepherds in the bitter cold of the fields of Bethlehem. On the stone pavement of the nave is heaped a pile of wood; around this stand children dressed in white, holding torches made of brushwood with which they kindle

the bonfire. As this blazes up the priest reads the early Christmas service.

Curious ancient Syrian practices are sometimes also connected with the blessing of the holy water at the Feast of the Baptism of Christ, January 3. After the service the water is distributed among the people, to be taken home in small bottles; but one bottle is kept on the altar, to be mingled with the water that is to be consecrated the next year. In churches where this practice has been long handed down, this holy water is said to be as old as the buildings themselves. In some cases, instead of a general distribution, the water is sold to the highest bidder, the proceeds going to the church. Another analogy with the Protestant church fairs of the United States sometimes appears at this service. The priest makes an auction of the Bible, the large cross, the ikons, etc., which belong to the church. To carry these in the procession after the holy water is an honor worth paying for, and this honor falls to the lot of the highest bidders for these articles, which, when all is over, are restored to their places in the sanctuary or on the ikonostasis, as the case may be. In the Maronite celebration of this feast the priest takes a coal from the censer and immerses it thrice in the bowl of holy water, which is later distributed among the people. Similar distribution is made among the worshippers of the Greek Church, who are supposed, on each of the seven following days, to drink a little of the water which they have carried home. On the eve of this Feast, at the Harbor or Mîna of Tripoli, the Greeks light bonfires in their court-yards, and at midnight go down to the shore, the sick with the well, there to seek the blessing of a bath in the sea. After this night ablution they proceed to the church for early mass. Up to the sixteenth century, pilgrims used to seek baptism in the Jordan at this feast, but the ceremony was then changed to Easter week, where it is still regarded as constituting the proper termination of the pilgrimage.

In the Maronite churches, at the Feast of the Presentation of Christ to the Temple, sometimes called the Purification, there is placed on the lectern a tray of candles which

are blessed and sprinkled with holy water. They are then distributed among the people who make an offering of money. These candles are supposed to possess the virtue of warding off sickness and evil spirits, especially at the time of death. Sometimes they are burned in booths where silk-worms are being raised. The Greeks have no such custom at this feast.

The Feast of Mar Marûn, the alleged founder of the Maronites, is celebrated on February 9, when his picture is borne around the church in procession. He is also commemorated on the second Sunday of every month. Yuḥanna Marûn (John Maro), the first Maronite patriarch, is commemorated on March 2, and the three hundred and fifty monks of Mar Marûn on July 31, all three days being feasts of abstention from labor.

In the Eastern churches Lent begins on Monday, called the Monday of the Fast. In Syria it is popularly known as Monk's Monday, from an indefinite legend that some monk, once upon a time, at the beginning of Lent, came riding into town on a donkey. So it is the fashion for crowds to go out to the outskirts of the town "to meet the monk." In Mosul it is also known as Mocking Monday, or Tantalizing Monday, as the Moslems then make a counter-demonstration in the form of a huge picnic, where they ostentatiously feast upon meat and "greasy food." During Lent the Greek churches are draped in red cloth, great care being taken to cover the gilded portions of the ikonostasis. In the Maronite churches, during Holy Week, the pictures are draped in black, and before the altar is hung a black curtain on which have been sewn, in white cloth, models of the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, hammer, pincers, the scourge of ropes, the striking hand, Pilate's ewer and basin, the cock, the torch, the sword, the sun, moon and stars, the sponge, and the spear.

The observance of Ash Monday by the Maronites is as follows: On the evening of the Saturday previous the sacristan takes some dried olive twigs, which have been preserved in the sacristy ever since the last Palm Sunday, and reduces them to ashes in a brazier. At the Monday ser-

vice the priest sprinkles the ashes with holy water and incenses them, praying for a blessing upon them. Then, one by one, the people advance and the priest makes the sign of the cross upon their foreheads with the ashes, saying: "Remember, O man, thou art dust and to dust thou shalt return." The Greek service has no especial features. With the Syrians oil is used instead of ashes.

On the Saturday before Palm Sunday a practice, now moribund, used to be common to all the churches and still may be seen in the interior. According to this custom the school-boys go from house to house enacting a crude sort of miracle play written on a roll of paper and commemorating in poetical language the raising of Lazarus. Two boys hold the extended roll while the other boys chant the story, except the one who lies on the ground underneath the roll to represent Lazarus. When they reach the point where the dead man comes forth, the boy gets up and the paper is rolled up again. The collection made of money and produce is supposed to go to the teacher who copied the story.

In former days on Palm Sunday the Maronites used sometimes to erect an olive tree in the church, but the pulling of this to pieces, branch by branch, by the people produced such an unseemly disturbance that the practice was abandoned. At present a tray of olive twigs or small branches rests on the lectern while the service takes place. After being blessed, these are carried in procession, while the singers chant the words: "Hosanna to the Son of David!" The twigs are taken home for a blessing. The thrifty Syrians, who have a similar service but may omit the procession, sometimes sell these at auction for the benefit of the church. With the Greeks, dried palm branches, cut and braided, are carried in the procession by the people and later taken home.

The ceremony of washing the disciples' feet on Maundy Thursday has ever had a wide celebration. As the Lord's anointed, kings have performed this. The King of Spain still "washes the feet" of twelve old men, and the queen, of twelve old women. The Emperor of Austria also follows the practice. In the Greek Church the washing must be

done by a bishop, and the disciples must be represented by men who are at least in priest's orders. In Jerusalem this function is performed with great pomp and splendor in the court-yard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where a platform is erected on which are seated the patriarch and twelve bishops, whose feet he washes, while the thousands of spectators crowd the court and the roofs of the surrounding buildings. Owing to the difficulty of assembling twelve priests, the function is often omitted in Syria. In the villages the event is symbolized by smearing the altar with oil and anointing it with holy water.

A similar regulation, requiring the presence of a bishop and twelve priests, obtains with the Syrians, but I am told that on necessity two priests may represent the bishop and that deacons may take the place of all the disciples except Peter. In the town of Ḥama (Hamath) an amusing and homely practice used to take place after this Syrian service. The people would hoist the bishop in a chair, crying: "Bring us the feast!" On the bishop's replying: "The feast is far off," they would renew their laughing cries of "We must have the feast! Give us the feast!" Whereupon the bishop would say: "The feast is in three days!" for not till then would they let him down.

With the Maronites the service requires the presence of one priest only, hence it is commonly observed in all towns and villages. For the use of small churches the service book gives an alternative rite. It is said that after the ceremony is over the school-boy who is supposed to have represented Judas is sometimes mocked and beaten by his comrades, in a spirit of mischief. Some years ago I witnessed the full service in the Maronite cathedral of Beyrout. On a platform built out into the nave below the pulpit had been placed twelve chairs, six facing six, on which sat twelve school-boys in surplices. The bishop in his ordinary soutane mounted the platform, and there was robed in full canonicals, with mitre and staff. He then took his seat at one end. In the pulpit a priest and a deacon chanted the account in the Gospel of John. When they came to the words: "He arose from supper," the bishop arose, was

disrobed of his canonicals, and was girt about with a towel. The bishop then washed the heel of the right foot of three boys. He was then robed again and took his seat, while some chanting went on. After a second reading by priest and deacon, the bishop, being again disrobed, proceeded to wash the feet of three other boys, as before. This was done a third and a fourth time, but after the feet of two of the last trio of boys had been washed, when the reader reached the words: "Then cometh he to Simon Peter and Peter saith unto him," the last boy arose and read from a paper: "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" The bishop then read the reply. When the colloquy was completed, with no attempt at dramatic effect, the bishop completed the washing.

On this same Thursday the Maronite patriarch at his seat, with two or three bishops, consecrates the oil of baptism, oil for extreme unction, and the holy chrism (the meirûn), all three kinds of oil to be distributed by the bishops among the Maronite churches for use during the coming year. Oil remaining from the year before is burned. As we have seen, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, with twelve bishops, consecrates the meirûn for all the four patriarchates, its preparation being very costly. During the recent periods of his alienation (for two different reasons) from the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, they received the meirûn from the metropolitan of St. Petersburg.

On Good Friday no mass is said in any of the Eastern churches. They all maintain the service of the Adoration of the Cross, known usually in Arabic as the jennâz, or the burial, which is ordinarily conducted in the afternoon, though the Maronite rubric appoints it for the morning. In the Greek Church the ceremony includes the following features: On the altar is placed a richly embroidered cloth on which is imprinted the figure of the dead Christ. For this, in poorer churches, may be substituted the antimins, or cloth on which the Gospels always rest between services, and on which the cup and paten are placed during the liturgy. At the burial the cloth is covered with

flowers. When the long service comes to a close the priest places the cloth on his head, with some one behind to hold out the ends, and leads a procession three times around the church. Sometimes, instead of resting on the priest's head, the cloth is hung over a combination of bier and coffin, open on four sides, and overarched, which the priest carries with uplifted hands. Sometimes the cloth is borne by four laymen. In any case, as it is carried around the church sick people and women desiring children pass under it "for a blessing." When a "bier" is used this is then set down on the floor of the nave; or, if there is no bier, the cloth is placed on a table. In the nave it remains till Saturday evening, when it is placed, unfolded, on the altar, there to rest till the eve of Ascension Day. If the antimins has been used, this practice cannot be carried out, as this sacred object must always be folded when the Gospels rest under it. The flowers are distributed among the people.

The Maronite service of the burial I once attended at the church of Mar Elyas, in Beyrout. In the centre of the nave there was erected a small platform, upon which was placed a short, deep bier, hung with white lace and pink cambric, and surrounded by candles. As the people came in they threw bunches of flowers into the bier. In front of the altar there was a wooden stand with steps, on which was erected a cross with a colored plaster image of the Saviour fastened to it, about three feet high and covered with crape. On either side there was a candle, one veiled in crape. A round table covered with service books stood just outside the altar rails at one side; the priest and laymen both read from the same books, the former standing within, the latter without the rails. The priest wore no vestments, but at times assumed the stole. When the service, which was long and impressive and included many Scripture selections, had continued for some time, the candles were lighted and the priest unfastened the image from the cross. Bearing it into the body of the church, he placed it in the bier and covered it up with flowers. Four men in surplices took up the bier by its handles and carried it around the church three times, preceded by the priest walk-

ing backward and swinging the censer, and followed by a procession of men and boys chanting and bearing candles. When they put down the bier in the nave, the priest walked around it, prostrating himself on each side. He then took a large silver crucifix and held it up for the people to kiss, repeating as they pressed forward the Arabic salutation for feast days, equivalent to "Many happy returns of the day!" literally, "Every year may you be at peace!" As the people went out they stopped before a small table at which was seated the "wakîl," or lay-agent of the church, with a plate before him containing a mixture of oil and dough, into which he dipped a candle, making the sign of the cross on the forehead of those who left a piece of money. Later the image was placed in the "tomb," or opening under one of the side altars at the south of the nave, which had been decorated with flowers and candles in preparation for the burial. In the villages the ritual is less elaborate. A simple crucifix is placed on a black cloth resting on a chair, the cloth taking the place of the bier.

Our account of the Syrian "burial" follows, in the main, the description given me by a late deacon in the Jacobite Church, with some added details. At the south side of the nave, in front of the ikonostasis, is erected a life-size cross, in shape of a T, the top vertical bar being supplied by a small cross, which later is removed. At either end of the crossbar of the T are placed candles. In the course of the reading, when reference is made to the breaking of the legs of the two thieves, the candle on the left is broken and then put out by one of the laymen. At the reference to the "vinegar and gall" a liquid under this name is given to the people to drink. Toward the close of the service the priest takes down the cross, and laying it on a long towel that rests on his open palms, bears it in procession three times around the church and into the sanctuary. On the altar is a basin of water mingled with vinegar and sweet perfumes. Washing the cross in this water, he covers it with cotton and wraps it in a towel, and places it in the space under the altar, amid spices, with a lamp by its side and a curtain in front. Here it remains till Easter. According

to an old custom, apparently forgotten in some churches at the present time, two deacons sit by this "tomb," quietly reading psalms, till they are replaced by another pair, who maintain their part in a continuous vigil that lasts till Easter morning. The water in which the cross was washed is distributed among the people, to be drunk on the spot or to be taken home in little cups. It may be added that the Syrian Catholics observe this same service.

On Saturday noon of Holy Week the bells which have been silent since Thursday morning are again rung. In some country places the ancient naqûs, or board struck with a hammer, takes the place of a bell. Holy Saturday has no distinctive features except in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, where the oft-described ceremony of the holy fire attracts thousands of visitors and demands the presence of the Turkish governor as well as of many soldiers to prevent disturbance among the rival Christian bodies. The simple people believe that the fire, which is passed out from a small hole in the tabernacle or cubiculum built over the alleged tomb of Christ, has actually descended from heaven, and thus does not burn like ordinary fire. Accordingly, in their ecstasy they pass their kindled torches over their faces and beards. In the presence of the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, I heard a Greek bishop protest against the popular Protestant description of the holy fire as a stupendous fraud. He volunteered the statement that it is kindled by a priest, adding that the present hierarchy cannot be held responsible for the belief of pilgrims that it descends from heaven.

At about half-past three on Easter morning the bells of the Greek churches begin to ring. The service opens with a procession led by the priest dressed in full canonicals, carrying the ikon of Christ and cross and swinging the censer. Three times the procession passes out of the west door of the church and in at the south door. But the last time a pause is made in the porch while the priest reads the Gospel, having rested the ikon on a chair. After saying "Christ is risen!" he leads the procession once more into the church and the ikon is placed on a stand in the centre

of the nave, there to remain till Ascension Day. The priest then enters the sanctuary for the completion of the service. The usual Easter salutation is "The Lord is risen," with the answer: "He is risen indeed." In Russia they add: "And has appeared unto Peter."

With the Maronites the Easter service begins immediately after midnight. After preliminary prayers, the priest, fully vested, approaches the "tomb" where the image has lain since Good Friday, and, incensing it, calls out in Syriac three times: "Christ who rose from the house of the dead has had mercy upon us!" He then takes out the image, covers it with a white veil, and carries it held up in front of his face, while the people follow in grand procession, singing and chanting. After all have kissed the cross, the flowers are distributed "for a blessing."

In the Syrian churches, very early Easter morning the priest goes into the sanctuary alone and takes out the cross from the "tomb" under the altar. Then opening the gates of the screen, he holds it up in the sight of all the people, saying in a loud voice: "To-day the Lord is risen from the dead!" It was many, many years since the friend who described this service to me had been a Syrian "deacon," and during the interval he had preached as an ordained Protestant minister from behind a desk in the bare chapels or school-houses of the American Presbyterian Mission, but the reflection of that Easter glow was still on his face as he told of the joy that filled his heart when he heard these words, and saw the simple act which brought to a climax the quaint symbolism with which the Syrian Church depicts the history of the passion.

Easter Monday and Tuesday are both feasts, but only on Monday is cessation from labor obligatory. The season is celebrated by wearing new clothes and by making visits of ceremony. The children amuse themselves by coloring eggs, which they strike together in a regular game. The great Greek Easter procession called Dowra-el-Ba'uth is made on Easter Monday and sometimes also on Tuesday. In former days all the priests in Beyrout used to assemble at the episcopal residence, where they assumed their vest-

ments and then invested the bishop. All would then go in grand procession to the cathedral in the town, followed by a huge crowd, with the constant firing of guns and revolvers in the air, which did not cease even when the priests entered the cathedral. In consequence of such disorderly scenes the out-of-door function was prohibited and for it was substituted a procession three times around the interior of the cathedral. It is still the custom for the priests to follow each other in reading the Gospel for the day, verse by verse, in as many languages as possible: Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Russian, English, and French.[1]

An extraordinary elaboration of this Easter procession, which appears to have fused together elements both Christian and pagan, has been evolved at the Orthodox village of Mahardy, near the gorge of the Orontes, in northern Syria. It is the crown of the Easter festival and may be celebrated Monday or Tuesday. Indeed, when I saw it in 1909 it had been postponed to Wednesday, on account of bad weather. Originating as a simple procession within the church, the dowra later girdled the exterior of the building, and now in encircling the town itself moves over a circumference of more than a mile. The start is made from the church, which is also the terminal point. Every one is in gala dress. Bridal couples of the autumn before don their wedding raiment. On the dark bands around the brides' foreheads glitters the gold of ornaments, nor do their sober outer skirts conceal the gorgeous crimson of silken dresses. Moslems from neighboring villages and Arabs from the Eastern desert join the crowds. The air is full of the sharp crack of pistols. Horsemen dash across the fields, hurling at each other long light sticks, in the play of the jerîd. But it is the dance of the Debky that dominates the feast. For four days, Sunday included, dress rehearsals have been going on. Everywhere parties are formed, young men joining hands with girls, in circles that begin with a dozen but that grow with extraordinary elasticity before the bewildered eyes of the spectator who cannot note how many slip in. As they dance they sing. At the reading of the

[1] This is sometimes done on Easter Sunday.

Gospels the dancing, indeed, stops. In former times the Gospel was read at the four cardinal points of the village, but now the reading is confined to one spot near the cemetery. When this is over the impatient youths and maidens dash on ahead to weave new dancing circles. In the meantime the reformed procession continues on its circular route. In the forefront may be seen a massive silver cross carried by a layman; then comes a copy of the Gospels held high in the air by bearers who constantly relieve each other; a flaming torch, carried near the Gospels, represents a candle; next follows the priest in gold brocade, and behind him comes a man who carries a pole twenty feet high from which flies a flag of blue silk with white stars. Priest and people chant as they walk. The church is in the centre of a labyrinth of little lanes which encircle the rude brown houses. As the distant sound of the chanting—"Christ is risen! Christ is risen!"—reaches the church, an advance crowd pours into the small court-yard, swarms up the outside steps leading to the roof, throngs the roofs of adjacent buildings. Instantly, as if by magic, the seething mass of humanity in the court-yard resolves itself into three dancing circles. The leader in the centre of each circle strikes up a merry tune. As the procession comes near, the droning chants of Christianity strike discordant against the saucy rhymes of paganism. Then for a brief moment Church is triumphant. Dancing and singing suddenly cease; chatter dies away; faces grow sober; while the priest takes his stand at the door of the sacred building and begins to explain the religious significance of the ceremony. But hardly is the last word out of his mouth when paganism rebounds with a leap. The broken circles are reformed; an increased fury of fun seizes the dancing boys and girls; into the swaying movements has come a new abandon. The dowra season is passing, so the tense faces seem to say, let us make the most of it! Even so have danced their ancestors before them, through the long centuries, while cult has replaced cult on this ancient plain of the Orontes.

Between Easter and Pentecost the Maronites do not kneel in the churches nor prostrate themselves, signifying

by erect posture that they are "risen in Christ." Accordingly, on the latter feast, on which they return to their kneeling, there is an especial rite, divided into three parts, in honor of the three persons in the Godhead respectively. At the end of the first part the priest says in a loud voice, turning to the people: "Kneel before the Lord upon the left knee." The people obey. After a prayer the priest says: "Rise in the strength of God and worship him who rides upon the sun-settings, etc." In the second part they kneel upon the right knee and in the third upon both together. The Greeks do not ordinarily kneel in the churches, except during Lent from Mondays to Fridays inclusive, but on the Day of Pentecost they have a service called Es-Sejdi, similar to the Maronite rite in that they kneel three times. Parry describes a curious Pentecostal custom obtaining among the Syrians. After the sermon all deacons begin to chant, but suddenly stop and pretend to be asleep. Then each man taps his neighbor's shoulder to wake him, while the priest prays and scatters water with an almond branch over the people. This act, performed three times, signifies the gift of the Holy Spirit descending on the sleeping members of the church.[1]

The Feast of Corpus Christi is solemnly observed by the Maronites under the name of Khamîs-ej-Jesed, or Thursday of the Body, but not by the Greeks. As the host is carried from church to church, all in the streets and shops are expected to rise. The following feasts are common to all the churches. At the Feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, June 29, a basin of water is placed on the lectern in the Maronite churches, and after it is blessed the people fill bottles to take home. On the feasts of Mar Elyas, July 20, and of Es-Sayyidy (the Repose or Assumption of the Virgin, August 15) huge crowds, bent quite as much on merrymaking as on worship, flock to the convents that bear the names of the Prophet Elijah and the Virgin. On September 14, the Feast of the Finding of the Cross, bonfires are kindled in memory of the signals that flashed Helena's great news from Jerusalem to Constantinople. As

[1] "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," *op. cit.*, p. 341.

seen from Beyrout, the Lebanon mountain-side fairly blazes with a multitude of brilliant lights. All-Saints is celebrated by the Maronites on November 1, but by the Greeks on the Sunday succeeding Pentecost, thus taking the place of the Trinity Sunday of the West.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM

Introductory Note

While Christianity and Islam hold many great and essential truths in common, the difference between them as systems is fundamental. Christ's conception of life was not Mohammed's conception of life. The attitude of Christians toward Jesus is not the attitude of Moslems toward their prophet. Of these points the present chapter furnishes abundant illustration. But the difference between the two religions is not only a difference between systems, it is a difference of atmosphere. In each case, moreover, the system creates the atmosphere. It is the belief of Christians that they may draw direct inspiration from the glorified Christ, or, as one school of theology would express it, from the Heavenly Father, of whom they may have the best knowledge only through the words and life of Jesus. Such a belief, stimulating personal loyalty from the beginning, has through the ages produced a moral atmosphere, at once warm and buoyant, in which idealism has never ceased to be a force. Chilled and relaxed the atmosphere may become during periods when the belief itself is distorted and obscured; the force of the ideal remains latent notwithstanding. Mohammed uttered noble words: he had lofty aspirations, but the record of his life can never draw his followers upward to the heights of the Christian ideal. Christendom has, during the course of its history, sunk to low depths of morality, but its standards have still remained terribly high. Religion does not claim to control an individual against his will, but every religion powerfully affects the community, which consists simply of individuals in the mass. In the best Christian lands to-day, lands in which

the ideal flames the most brightly, flagrant evils may flourish which religion neither prevents nor destroys; but such evils are generally abhorred; they are practised at the risk of heavy punishment; and their ultimate suppression is regarded as both necessary and possible. Even in such lands the moral atmosphere, sensitive both to good and evil, may fluctuate. Fluctuations occur in our own land. But in spite of our alarming national record for divorce, reflecting the attitude toward marriage of a small but unhappily increasing minority; in spite of the frequent failure to convict for crimes of violence, due to an overscrupulous regard for legal technicalities; and, more important still, in spite of the consequent lowering of the moral atmosphere, breathed by the whole body politic and thus subtly affecting even those whose personal ideals and practice may remain on the highest plane, but who at the same time are unconsciously induced to relax their belief in the universal applicability of these ideals, or to view with a certain indulgence those who deny the moral imperative of these ideals—in spite of all these tendencies, it is to be thankfully believed that the ideals and practice of the sound majority will again clarify the moral atmosphere. In our land even a distant approach to conditions prevailing in the Mohammedan world is inconceivable.

For a relaxed moral atmosphere pervades Islam, even in countries where its tenets are most purely followed and where the characteristic Oriental decorum or outward respectability is most noticeable. A low view of marriage is stereotyped in the Koran, with its legislation regarding polygamy. The temporary marriages permitted to the Shi'ahs constitute a legalized prostitution. With the Sunnis, not only polygamy and concubinage with slaves are sanctioned, but divorce may depend practically on the caprice of the husband. Formal sins against purity, stigmatized by the Koran, are held in toleration and are regarded with indulgence even by many Moslems who would utterly shrink from practising them. In such an atmosphere innocent children have a knowledge of vices unknown even by name to many adults in Christian lands. My foreman reported

an inconceivable license of speech among the fellahin, employed in the excavations where men, women, and girls worked together. The petrifying formalism of Mohammedanism, acknowledged by advanced Mohammedan thinkers,[1] which produces the tendency, often nobly withstood, a tendency to divorce the practice of religion from the practice of morality, has greatly helped to preserve a low moral atmosphere. The popular conception of a sensual paradise has further tended to the same result.

It should not be necessary to add that in spite of its low idealism Islam has always had its saints and has its saints to-day. "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God" was uttered as a universal truth with no limiting phrase. The followers of Jesus can never rise higher than his teachings, but Moslem practice is sometimes better than Moslem precept. How the desire for inward holiness finds expression in the religious orders we shall see in our next chapter. But good men are everywhere found among the rank and file of Islam. Oriental Christians acknowledge that their conscientious Moslem neighbors often show a high type of character. British merchants in Syria have testified to the absolute integrity of Moslem agents. Missionaries declare that they have found true men of God among the Mohammedans. "To do justice and to love mercy" is the common aim of all good men. In no country is the best type of Moslem character more widely represented than in those under present consideration. A well-known American missionary in Arabia, where some of the worst features of Mohammedanism are accentuated, once remarked: "In Syria and Palestine Islam is at its best."

It is inevitable that in the chapters dealing with Islam comparison should be made, explicitly as well as uncon-

[1] "For the last few centuries Islam has become, in the minds of a large number of its votaries, associated with a lifeless formalism, the practice of its rules of morality has given place to mere profession, and its real aim *as a creed to live by* has been forgotten." "The Spirit of Islam or the Life and Teachings of Mohammed," by Ameer Ali, Syed (Calcutta, 1902), preface to popular edition, p. ix.

sciously, between the Koran and the Bible. Such a comparison, however, should always be cognizant of the great differences between them, relating not only to matters internal but to external facts. The Koran was the work of one man: Mohammed, the unlettered prophet of Arabia. Many writers contributed to the Old and the New Testaments: historians, jurists, poets, prophets, philosophers, sages. The Koran is claimed to have been revealed, bit by bit, through the brief period of twenty-three years. Material for the formation of the Bible canon took from twelve to sixteen centuries for its accumulation, to quote the two extremes of chronological estimate. The New Testament forms less than one-quarter of the whole Bible. The Koran is about two-thirds the length of the New Testament. The Bible was written in three languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The Koran was composed in Arabic alone. Biblical theology must recognize many trends of thought and a gradual development of doctrine through centuries. Variations of teaching in the Koran are confined to the slight changes of belief of one man during religious experiences covering but a quarter of a century.

It is extremely doubtful whether Mohammed ever came into actual contact with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Biblical stories plainly filtered down to him through oral rabbinical traditions of the Talmud. From the same source was derived his eschatology. His account of the life of Jesus seems to have reached him through a corrupted oral tradition or through echoes of the apocryphal Gospels. His conception of the doctrine of the Trinity, as consisting of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, was his interpretation of the only sort of Christianity he knew. All this reflects light upon the source of his doctrine of God and of his noblest spiritual conceptions. It is inconceivable that a man who regarded Mary the mother of Jesus as one with Mary the sister of Moses, and who believed that Haman was prominent in Pharaoh's court, had so searched the Scriptures as to assimilate their religious teachings. The Koranic doctrine of God has much in common with the view of the Old Testament, but the coincidence, in my

opinion, arises from Mohammed's direct spiritual intuition, which led him to a vision of some of the truths revealed to the Hebrew prophets. From the same inner source came his other lofty spiritual sentiments, examples of which have been grouped in the next section after a careful search through the pages of the Koran.

In regard to these brief but vital spiritual utterances, it must be acknowledged that, though they are plainly the cries of a soul in touch with the great realities, and though they often ring true to universal experience, when contrasted with similar passages found in the Bible they not only fall short in range, depth, and intensity, but they lack in glow, in tender comfort, and in the inspiring practical suggestion and persuasiveness that accompany sustained argument. Thus no distant parallel can be found to the one hundred and third Psalm, or to the fortieth chapter of Isaiah, or to the eighth of Romans, to name, out of scores, examples that first suggest themselves. It is, however, the inestimable good fortune of Moslems in Syria and Palestine to have an access to such passages that is withheld from their brethren in other parts of Turkey, as the circulation of the Koran, except in Arabic, is forbidden in the empire. To the majority of Turkish subjects the Koran is practically a closed book, opened for them by their teachers only on formal occasions.[1] In the Holy Land the Moslems may study their Scriptures in their mother tongue, at home or in the mosque, where, as we shall see, copies are sometimes kept for the especial use of the public in the fast month of Ramadhan.

In studying the Koran, it should be constantly kept in mind that for much that is taught and practised in Islam to-day we would search through it in vain. Islam is a theocracy, and theoretically the Koran, as the word of God, is both source and arbiter of all questions, relating not only to theology and to practical religion, but also to matters of jurisprudence. For the Sha'ri'a, or Mohammedan law, like the Pentateuch, knows no distinction between matters

[1] In India a number of translations into different languages are in daily use.

sacred and secular. But as the Jewish Pentateuch was overlaid by the Talmud, so the Mohammedan law has practically buried the teaching of the Koran under the traditions of the prophet and the decisions of the 'Ulama or learned. Christianity has not escaped a similar tendency, for the teaching of the New Testament has often been weighted down, and has at times been obscured by elaborate theological systems. The traditions of Mohammed, recording what he said, what he did, and what he permitted to be done in his presence, have come to possess an infallible authority, practically equal to that of the Koran, while, unlike the Koran, they touch on the minutest matters of ceremonial and practice, thus exercising this authority in a realm immensely wider.[1] Belief in the universality of their binding power is largely responsible for the rigidity and formality of the Mohammedan religion. Lord Cromer has acutely said: "Islam, speaking not so much through the Koran as through the traditions that cluster around the Koran, crystallizes religion and law into one inseparable and immutable whole, with the result that all elasticity is taken away from the social system."[2]

Mohammed prophesied that Islam would be divided into seventy-three sects, every one of which was destined for hell but that one which represented the religion of himself and his companions. The number named in the prophecy has been far exceeded, as 'Abd-el-Qa'dir ej-Jila'ni estimated in the twelfth century that there were one hundred and fifty. Each sect naturally believes that it alone is following the religion of the prophet and of his companions, thus constituting the Na'jiyeh, or "those who are being saved." The outside world, however, takes cognizance only of the two main divisions into Sunni and Shi'ah, based on different views of the nature and *personnel* of the caliphate. The Sunnis overwhelmingly predominate. The Shi'ahs are mainly confined to Persia, where they are in the majority, with a few thousand in India, also in Syria, where they are popularly known as Meta'wileh. The entire population of

[1] Compare with p. 194.

[2] "Modern Egypt," vol. II, pp. 134–135.

Syria and Palestine is approximately three and a quarter millions; of these about one million nine hundred thousand are Moslems. The present chapter deals with the practice of the Orthodox, or Sunnis, leaving the presentation of the Shiʻah variations for the sixth chapter.

I. Confession of the Creed

The world of Islam is supported by five pillars of practical religion: Witness to the creed, prayer, fasting, alms, and pilgrimage.[1] The practice of these ordinances is enjoined by the Koran, which, however, does not lay down the method of observance with the detail characterizing the later development of the ritual. No stream can rise higher than its source. It is equally true that every stream falls below the level of its source. All large streams, moreover, are joined by confluent streams, by other waters that give a new color, a new quality to the parent stream. Islam as practised to-day is based, as we have seen, not only on the Koran, but also on the traditions of Mohammed, both interpreted by the decisions of the learned.[2] These tributaries have not only enormously increased the volume of the waters, but have affected their nature. In gazing at the turbid stream of Islam to-day, we must not forget the freshness and sparkle of the fountain that burst from the deserts of Arabia in the seventh century. A few preliminary words, then, concerning the Koran, which is for all Moslems, at least in theory, their final source of authority will be in place.[3]

[1] This is the list of the Sunnis. That of the Shiʻahs omits the first item as belonging rather to the list of beliefs, substituting for it (in the fifth place) the jihad, or holy war.

[2] For the influence of the traditions on Moslem jurisprudence, see foot-note to p. 194.

[3] The Koran is divided into one hundred and fourteen chapters, called surahs, revealed piecemeal during a period covering twenty-three years. The surahs are subdivided into verses, called ayât. Each surah is named, more or less arbitrarily, from some word contained in its text. Equally arbitrary was the early arrangement—never altered by Moslems—effected by placing the longer surahs first, the shorter last, and

Islam is emphatically a book religion, and for the Moslem this book contains naught but the very words of God, revealed, indeed, to Mohammed through the Angel Gabriel, but written before time began in the "Mother of the Book," which lies open before the throne of heaven. The words throughout are uttered in the first person: God is the speaker, and Mohammed is the one addressed.[1] No theory of inspiration could be more mechanical. Mohammed, so holds Islam, was but the vehicle of divine truth. For followers of other religions this theory, as applied to

by prefixing to the collection the opening prayer, or fat'ḣah. Each surah has prefixed to it the name of the place, Mecca or Medinah, where it was revealed, but verses plainly composed at one place are sometimes inserted in surahs marked with the name of the other. No exact chronology, thus, has been preserved, and an approximately correct succession can only be inferred by the references to passing events and by a study of the style of composition. As a working hypothesis, Nöldeke's chronology is now widely accepted. (See Palmer's Introduction to his "Translation of the Koran," p. lxiv.) This writer recognizes not only the two general classes of surahs, separated by the Hegira, or flight to Medinah, but he subdivides the Meccan surahs into three parts, in all of which Mohammed appears as prophet. In the first Meccan period he teaches the unity of God in a series of rhetorical outbursts, with the rhyme but without the rhythm of poetry, appealing to the feelings rather than to the reason. The surahs of the second period, couched in more prosaic language, are characterized by long-winded and tediously reiterated stories (borrowed from the Jewish haggadah) telling of the rejection of the prophets of old by unbelieving generations, with the plain moral that the rejection of Mohammed would inevitably result in the same punishment. The surahs of the third Meccan period are even less interesting in style and contain little new material. In the Medinah surahs, Mohammed appears as the law-giver. The style is usually dull, but its almost plain prose is relieved by a few of the old passages of power and beauty. (See the admirable analysis of Stanley Lane Poole, in his "Studies in a Mosque," pp. 157–160.) The legal sections, contained almost entirely in surahs II, IV, and V (amounting to about one-tenth of the Koran), do not constitute a systematic code of jurisprudence. The legislation, often arising from concrete cases, is practical rather than theoretical; at the same time it is general rather than particular. It forms but the basis of the complicated law and ritual which the development of Islam has built upon it. For the contradictions and inconsistencies the book contains, see p. 189.

[1] The fat'ḥah, or opening prayer, is an exception.

the Koran, is, of course, untenable. But in repudiating this theory we must not fly to the other extreme. It is often hastily assumed that the only alternative is to call Mohammed an impostor. Those who would thus argue not only misread history, they misread psychology. That this great religious genius believed himself to be inspired by God, when he gave utterance to the early surahs, I take for granted, just as I take for granted that Joan of Arc believed in the reality of her visions. If the doubter ask for proof, let him read these surahs in a humble spirit. For this earliest portion of the Koran rings with conviction, with authority. It is full of life and movement and poetry. It is, as Stanley Lane Poole calls it, "one long blazonry of nature's beauty." The main theme is the same with the Psalmist's: The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork.

> "By the sun and its noon-day brightness!
> And the moon when it follows Him!
> And the day when it displays Him!
> And the night when it covers Him!
> And the Heaven and what built it!
> And the earth and what spread it!
> And the soul and what fashioned it,
> And taught it its sin and its piety!
> Prosperous is he who purifies it!
> And disappointed is he who corrupts it!"[1]

But the genuine spirit of these early surahs is evinced not only by such spontaneous outbursts, recognizing God in nature. Listen to the following short surah, uttered during the lonely days of the prophet's early struggle:

> "By the splendor of the morning,
> And the still of the night!
> The Lord hath not forsaken thee nor hated thee!
> And the future shall surely be better than the present,
> And the Lord will surely give to thee and thou shalt be
> well pleased.

[1] Surah XCI, 1–10. When not otherwise stated, we follow Palmer's translation. (See "Sacred Books of the East," vol. VI.)

> Did he not find thee an orphan and sheltered thee?
> And found thee erring and guided thee?
> And found thee poor and enriched thee?
> Then as for the orphan oppress him not,
> And for him who asketh of thee, chide him not away,
> And for the bounty of thy Lord, tell of it."[1]

Here are no words of a self-conscious impostor, but rather of one convinced of the truth of his message and of the divine care enfolding the messenger, rejected by his own people.

In regard to Mohammed's belief in the divine inspiration of all that is contained in the later surahs of the Koran, especially of those composed at Medinah, when the growing triumph of Islam added to his rôle of prophet those of law-giver and ruler, we can speak with less confidence. This confidence almost vanishes in the case of the convenient "revelations" scattered through surah XXXIII touching the prophet's private life. Among these is included a list of marriages which he may contract, terminating with the phrase, "A special privilege this for thee above all other believers" (verse 49). Criticism of his marriage with the divorced wife of his adopted son Zaid was silenced by a revelation legalizing the union (verses 37–38). There are other instances, where the exact allusion is obscure, whose object is clearly to guard the prophet's comfort or his reputation.[2] All such passages, whatever their

[1] Surah XVIII. Translation by Stanley Lane Poole.

[2] It may be conceded that this especial legislation is announced with quaint simplicity. According to Palmer's interpretation of verse 53, the believers are warned not to hint for an invitation to dine with the prophet by following the Arab custom of sitting around the tent watching for the pot to boil. Earlier in the surah, verses 27 and 28, Allah is represented as commanding Mohammed, who, it is alleged, has been annoyed by his wives' demands for new dresses, to give them the choice between divorce on the one hand, and on the other contentment with what they have here, plus the promise of reward in the hereafter. The chapter of the Prohibition (surah LXVI) contains, without doubt, a rebuke to the women of Mohammed's household. Palmer follows the commentators, who link it with a squalid story of jealousy of the Coptic maiden Mary, on the part of 'Ayeshah and Ḥafsah. This is

interpretation, are doubtless blots on the Koran, but they do not, it seems to me, justify the use of the crude title impostor. Mohammed was at first intensely conscious of being human. In the Mecca surahs he stoutly combats any contrary view: "I am but a mortal like yourselves, I am inspired to announce that your God is one God."[1] "I am not an innovator among the Apostles; nor do I know what will be done with me or with you if I follow aught but what I am inspired with; nor am I aught but a plain warner."[2] As an offset to the favorable especial legislation of later years, we find a rebuke to the prophet, especially revealed at Mecca, for his impatience with a blind man.[3] Even in a later Medinah surah "his early and his later sin are acknowledged as needing pardon."[4] On the other hand, as regards his office as prophet and legislator he came to have a most exalted idea: "Whoso obeys the prophet, he obeys God!"[5] he cries. "Verily those who disbelieve God and his Apostles desire to make a distinction between God and his Apostles, and say, 'We believe in part and disbelieve in part, and desire to take a midway course between the two'; these are the misbelievers, and we have prepared for the misbelievers' shameful woe!"[6] Thus in later years a subtle change came over the prophet of Arabia. When the first glory of his visions had faded; when for the ennobling victory of the idea was substituted the demoralizing victory of the sword; when perplexing questions of legislation demanded an immediate decision that could not wait on inspiration; when through his own personal conduct, or rather misconduct, the invasion of his personal prestige, so subtly identified with the prestige of the cause, was threatened; then, consciously or unconsciously, a temptation came to

pronounced "absolutely false and malicious" by Ameer Ali, Syed, the modernist of Islam, who sees in the surah no more than a reference to the remorse of the prophet at yielding to his wives' request that he give up the eating of honey, thus repudiating a good gift of God. Ameer Ali also takes a more lenient view of Mohammed's much criticised conduct in the matter of the divorced wife of Zaid. (See "The Spirit of Islam," *op. cit.*, p. 195.)

[1] XLI, 5. [2] XLVI, 8. [3] LXXX.
[4] XLVIII, 2. [5] IV, 82. [6] IV, 149–150.

this unlettered cameleer raised to royal power, a temptation to live up to his profession of prophet at any cost, a temptation to fuse his conception of Mohammed the erring mortal, with Mohammed the mouth-piece of the Almighty, or, in other words, a temptation to confound the will of God with the will of Mohammed. And to this temptation he yielded.

A sacred book may be fairly judged by its conception of God. The Koran has but one great message—a message about God. Mohammed's glory was the recovery of the monotheistic idea and its enthronement in the southern Semitic world. He claimed to announce no discoveries in theology. He bade the idolatrous pagan tribes, as well as the semi-pagan Christians, of Arabia look back to Abraham, to Abraham the Ḥanîf (that is, "inclined" to the true religion), who contended for the worship of the one true God against a heathen generation. He pointed to the other prophets and showed how disregard of their warnings had ever resulted in confusion to the unbeliever. He declared the signs of God in nature, animate and inanimate, outlining, in poetical form, the argument from design.[1] He preached Islam—self-surrender to the will of God—thus defining the Moslem simply as the man who is resigned.[2] He rehearsed the divine attributes, singly and in groups, so that from the Koran most of the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah, so often repeated by the pious Moslem, may be culled.

At this point we are led back to the first of the five pillars of Islam, the confession of the creed: I testify that there is no God but God, and that Mohammed is the apostle of God. This shortest creed in the world is called the kal′-imah, or word. It sets forth in splendid brevity the kernel of the Moslem faith: the unity of God as revealed by the seal of the prophets. It is cried five times a day from every

[1] For a good example, see surah VI, 95–99.

[2] Compare surah LI, 35, "And we sent therefrom [*i. e.*, Sodom] such as were in it of the believers; but we found only one house of Moslems." All the prophets from the time of Abraham are held to have been Moslems.

minaret; it is repeated in every formal prayer; it is inscribed on banners and door-posts; it is used for the comfort of the dying. This confession must be made aloud by every convert. Indeed, it is said that the idle repetition of the words by a Christian, in the presence of ignorant Moslems, may put him in danger of an enforced circumcision. Unequivocal adhesion is thus constantly testified by the Moslem to the doctrine of one God. We can have no real notion, however, of the qualities which he attributes to this one God without a study of the Koran. This reveals a conception of Allah similar, in many respects, to the conception of Jehovah, held by the Israelites of the great prophetic period, but also with differences covering matters of vital importance. For both, God, the Creator of all things, is omnipresent, omnipotent, jealous of worship due to him, vengeful on wrong-doers, gracious and compassionate to those who fear him. There is little in the following descriptions of the Koran that might not have been uttered by a Hebrew prophet:

"He is God than whom there is no God, who knows the unseen and the visible. He is the merciful and compassionate! He is God than whom there is no God, the King, the Holy, the Peacegiver, the Faithful, the Protector, the Mighty, the Repairer, the Great!—He is God, the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner; His are the excellent names! His praises whatever are in the heavens and in the earth do celebrate; for God is the mighty, the wise!" [1] "God, there is no God but he, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens, and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with him save by his permission? He knows what is before, and what is behind them, and they comprehend naught of his knowledge, but of what he pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and it tires him not to guard them both, for he is high and grand." [2]

The important difference between the Jewish idea of God

[1] Surah LIX, 22–24.

[2] II, 256. This is the celebrated "Verse of the Throne," found often inscribed on mosques.

and the conception of Islam involves a question of emphasis and a question of omission.[1] First, then, for the emphasis. In striking contrast to the main trend of its teaching the Old Testament contains a few passages in regard to God in which predestination appears to shade into fatalism. Among these are the oft-repeated phrases in Exodus: "I will harden Pharaoh's heart," "The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart," which alternate with the expression: "And Pharaoh hardened his heart." Saint Paul echoes this doctrine in his letter to the Romans: "Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."[2] Similar passages, however, are very much more frequent in the Koran. Whereas in the Bible they are exceptional, in the Koran they are fundamental. They cast a dark shadow over many of its pages. Over and over again occurs the terrible expression: "God leads astray." Many passages are unqualified. "He whom God leads astray there is no guide for him! He leaves them in their rebellion blindly wandering on."[3] "But whomsoever God doth lead astray thou shalt not find for him a way."[4] "But he whom God wishes to mislead thou canst do nothing with God for him: these are those whose heart he wishes not to purify, for them in this world is disgrace, and for them in the next is mighty woe."[5] With this class of passages belong the following: "It is not for any person to believe save by the permission of God: he puts horror on those who have no sense."[6] "We have created for hell many of the jinn and of mankind, etc."[7] But as we may balance one biblical teaching by another, even more, in dealing with the Koran, the work of a single individual, may we permit it to interpret itself. For such noxious passages as those just quoted the Koran itself at least suggests an antidote. Over

[1] The Koran recognizes the inspiration of the Zabur′ (the Psalms) and of the Taurat′ (the Law), as well as of the Injîl′ (the Gospel), though the Moslems hold that the text of the two latter has been corrupted. There appears to be but one direct quotation from the Bible in the Koran, and that is from Psalm 37:39.

[2] Romans 9:18. [3] Surah VII, 185. [4] IV, 142.

[5] V, 46. [6] X, 100. [7] VII, 177–178.

against their grim fatalism may be placed the reasonableness of the following: "He leads astray only the evil-doers,"[1] "God would not have wronged them but it was themselves they wronged."[2] "Verily God guides not him who is a misbelieving lear."[3] "Hast thou considered him who takes his lusts for his God, and God leads him astray wittingly, and has set a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and has placed upon his eyesight dimness? Who then shall guide him after God?"[4] May we not compare this passage with the sane words of James? "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted of evil, neither tempteth he any man; but every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed."[5] At any rate, in these last-quoted passages from the Koran, Mohammed appears, if only in temporary recoil from a bald fatalism, to be groping after something that may harmonize the doctrine of the divine decree with that of man's responsibility.

So much for the question of emphasis. The question of omission is even more grave, for it involves the loss of the very doctrine which in the Bible softens its own stern teaching regarding the divine decrees. The fundamental doctrine of the fatherhood of God in relation to man, amply illustrated in the prophetic period of the Old Testament, the central idea of the New Testament, is explicitly excluded from the teaching of the Koran. "But the Jews and the Christians say, 'We are the sons of God and his beloved!' Say, 'Why then does he punish you for your sins? Nay, ye are mortals of those whom he has created!'"[6] This denial naturally follows on the denial of the sonship of Jesus which is often and sometimes passionately made in the Koran.[7] The prophet of Arabia was unable to rise to a spiritual

[1] II, 24. This occurs as an explanation to an actual objection to the doctrine.

[2] XXIX, 39. [3] XXXIX, 5. [4] XLV, 522.

[5] James 1 : 13, 14. [6] Surah V, 21.

[7] The scattered notices of the Koran in regard to Jesus have been systematized by Hughes in his "Dictionary of Islam." We here present his brief summing up with our own additions in brackets. "It will be seen that Mohammed taught that Jesus was miraculously born of the

conception of the words father, son. The nomenclature connoted for him a physical relationship, amounting to a taint, which he could not disassociate from the Christian doctrine. "How can he have a son when he has no female

Virgin Mary, who was sister of Aaron and the daughter of 'Imran. [This is one specimen of the extraordinary ignorance of chronology shown by Mohammed.] That the Jews charged the Virgin with being unchaste; but the Babe, speaking in his cradle, vindicated his mother's honor. That Jesus performed miracles, giving life to a clay figure of a bird, healing the blind, curing the leper, quickening the dead, and bringing down a table from heaven "as a festival and a sign." [This is possibly a reference to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.] That he [Jesus] was especially commissioned as the apostle or prophet of God to confirm the law and to reveal the gospel. That he proclaimed his mission with many manifest signs, being strengthened by the Holy Spirit. [Moslem commentators interpret the Holy Spirit as a title of the Angel Gabriel, through whom the Koran was revealed.] That he foretold the advent of another prophet, whose name should be Aḥmed. [Arab commentators see here a prophecy of the mission of Mohammed, whose name is equivalent in meaning to Aḥmed, and signifies "the praised." The reference is to the promise of the paraclete in John 16:7, where, so it is held, the word παράκλητος has been substituted for περικλητός.] That the Jews intended to crucify him, but God deceived them, for they did not crucify Jesus, but only his likeness. [See surah IV, 156. "God took him up into heaven." Commentators differ as to who was crucified in his place, even Judas being suggested; others say it was a spy sent to entrap him, etc.] That he is now in one of the stages of celestial bliss. That after he left this earth his disciples disputed among themselves, some calling him a God, and making him one of a trinity of the "Father, the Mother, and the Son." [See surah V, 116: "And when God said, 'O Jesus, Son of Mary, is it thou who didst say to men, Take me and my mother for two Gods beside God'?" This charge is vehemently denied in the reply of Jesus.] That he will come again at the last day, and will slay antichrist, kill all the swine, break the cross, remove the poll-tax from the infidels. That he will reign as a just king for forty-five years, marry, and have children, and die and be buried near Mohammed at Al-Madinah, between the graves of Abu-Bekr and 'Umar."

From this summary it will be seen that Jesus occupies an exalted place in Moslem teaching. However, he is of little or no practical account to the ordinary Moslem to-day. The Gospels are practically ignored. In Palestine even Abraham seems to occupy a more prominent position in the peasant consciousness, while Mohammed, as the seal of the prophets, usurps almost all of the honor and attention due to his predecessors. The cult of local saints is very strong.

companion and when he has created everything and everything he knows?"[1] "They say, 'The Merciful has taken to Himself a son'; ye have brought a monstrous thing! The heavens wellnigh burst asunder thereat, and the earth is riven, and the mountains fall down broken, that they attribute to the Merciful a son! there is none in the heavens or in the earth but comes to the Merciful as a servant."[2] To the Moslem of to-day the affirmation of the divine paternity, in any form, is equally repugnant. "We are all God's children," I once said in attempted consolation of a noble old man who had met with a loss in his family—the family, I may add, of Khaled, the sword of God, who conquered Syria for Islam. "No," he gently reprimanded me, "not God's children: God's servants—God's slaves."

The names Son of God, sons of God, thus, were emphatically rejected by Mohammed. But it is fair to ask whether he was merely obsessed or hypnotized by nomenclature. Did he indicate a filial relationship indirectly under other terms? For the idea is expressed in the Old Testament indirectly as well as directly. Note, for example, the exquisite metaphor in the Song of Moses: "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings, so the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange God with him."[3] To such tender words as these I am bound to say I can find no parallel in the Koran. Allah is indeed the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Faithful, the Forgiver, the Guardian, the Guide, the Patient, an Excellent Help, but these titles are not the exclusive attributes of fatherhood they may belong to sovereign, master, teacher as well. In one passage God is termed the Loving,[4] but the idea is in general subordinated to other conceptions. Here are some instances: "God loves the kind."[5] "God loves those who fear."[6] "Verily to those who believe and act aright, verily the Merciful will give love."[7] "Verily God loves the just."[8]

[1] Surah VI, 101; compare XVII, 42.
[2] Surah XIX, 91–93.
[3] Deut. 32 : 11 and 12.
[4] Surah LXXXV, 14.
[5] III, 128.
[6] IX, 4.
[7] XIX, 96.
[8] XL, 9.

"Verily God loves those who fight in his cause."[1] Light these passages surely cast, but it pales before the glow of the Old Testament words: "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him."[2] It pales before the fire and splendor of the New Testament words: "For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."[3] And again, "But God commended his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us."[4]

These last-quoted words suggest one of the chief differences between the Bible and the Koran. This difference is in the treatment of sin. Pardon for sin repented of, punishment for sin persisted in, the Koran constantly reiterates, but the deep, inward experiences of the fifty-first Psalm, of the seventh chapter of Romans, are nowhere approximated. We hear nowhere of a broken heart, of a contrite spirit. We miss not only the sense of defilement, the sighs of anguish, but the joy of redemption, the ecstasy of relief. If we find nothing like the confession: "Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned,"[5] we miss also the jubilant cry: "He hath put a new song in my mouth."[6]

In a conception of God which denies fatherhood, and in which love is subordinated to power, the relation between God and man will naturally lack the tender intimacy involved in the conception which regards God as Father and God as Love. This relationship, however, may be both strong and vital. Both strength and vitality I find in the Koran's conception, and the fruits thereof in the lives of the best Moslems. Here I find myself in disagreement with the sweeping generalizations of Dr. Zwemer and the school of criticism that he represents. "God stands aloof from his creation," he writes; "only his power is felt, men are

[1] Surah LX, 4. [2] Psalm 103 : 13. [3] Romans 8 : 38 and 39.
[4] Romans 5 : 8. [5] Psalm 60 : 8. [6] Psalm 40 : 3.

like the pieces on a chessboard, and he is the only player."[1] In reading the Koran it should be constantly remembered that it contains both inconsistencies and contradictions. Certain fatalistic passages which support Zwemer's contention have already been quoted, but the very inconsistent and contradictory nature of the book permits us to find passages which teach a close personal relationship between God and man. "O ye who believe! answer God and his apostle when he calls you to that which quickens you, and know that God steps in between man and his heart, and that to him ye shall be gathered."[2] Though on a far lower spiritual plane, does not this quotation from the Koran seem to belong to the same order of ideas with the New Testament words: "Behold! I stand at the door and knock"?[3] At any rate it is a far cry from the Great Player, arbitrarily moving the chessmen! Or again: "We created man and we know what his soul whispers, for we are nearer to him than his jugular vein."[4] If, as Zwemer objects, this passage describes the nearness of God to man rather than that of man to God, we may point to the following: "When distress touches man, he calls us to his side, whether sitting or standing, but when we have removed him from his distress he passes on as though he had not called on us in a distress that touched him."[5] Here is the old story, once told by Malachi, of the willingness of God to help, and of man's callous refusal. Or again: "Whosoever takes tight hold on God he is guided in the right way."[6] "Are not verily the friends of God those on whom there is no fear, neither shall they be grieved?"[7] "Those who believe and whose hearts are comforted by the mention of God—aye! by the mention of God shall their hearts be comforted who believe and do what is right. Good cheer for them and an excellent resort."[8] "Be ye glad, then, in the cove-

[1] "The Moslem Doctrine of God," pp. 69 and 70, by S. M. Zwemer. Compare the famous arraignment of W. G. Palgrave, "Narrative of a Year's Journey through Arabia" (1862–3), vol. I, pp. 365–367.

[2] Surah VIII, 24. [3] Rev. 3 : 20. [4] Surah L, 15.

[5] X, 12. [6] III, 96. [7] X, 64.

[8] XIII, 28.

nant which ye have made with him, for that is the mighty happiness! Those who repent, those who worship, those who praise, those who fast, those who bow down, those who adore, those who bid what is right and forbid what is wrong, and those who keep the bounds of God—glad tidings to those who believe!"[1]

A corollary to the disbelief in the fatherhood of God is a disbelief in the brotherhood of man. A distinction, however, should here be made. Every religion practically recognizes some sort of brotherhood among its own members, whatever the conception of God may be. It was not until the Hebrew prophets began to see dimly that God was the father of the human race, that any sense of a brotherhood, including the whole family of man, became possible. That Christianity was intended by its founder to be a world religion, as over against the religion of a "peculiar people," was revealed to Peter in that vision in Joppa. This doctrine constituted for Saint Paul a startling discovery; it was "the mystery hid from ages":[2] his warrant for the title "Apostle to the Gentiles." Historically, thus, the doctrine made an early appearance in Christendom, but it has been the last doctrine to be transmuted into the actual daily experience of Christians. To desire to extend the privileges of one's own religion to "the heathen" or "the infidels" is one matter. Moslems share this desire with Christians; to regard all members of the human race as brothers, irrespective of their conversion, is not an ideal of Islam, and is still hardly more than an ideal of Christianity. The history of the treatment of Christians in Syria and Palestine since the Moslem domination, notwithstanding many terrible interludes, shows long periods of toleration, but this toleration has been the toleration for an inferior, always tempered with disdain, often discounted by oppression. This point has already been touched in the first chapter.

The Koran teaches that the infidels are to be regarded as the enemies of all true believers. It preaches the jihad, or holy war, against all who refuse belief in Islam. However, among the enemies of the faith a distinction is made. The

[1] IX, 114. [2] Col. 1 : 26 and 27; *cf.* Eph. 3 : 3–6.

mushrikîn′ (variously translated "idolaters" and "those who join other gods with God") are regarded as worse than the Ahl-el-Kitâb′ ("the people of the book"); that is, the Jews and the Christians.[1] It is against the former that the following terrible passage is directed: "But when the sacred months have passed away, kill the idolaters wherever ye may find them; and take them, and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every place of observation; but if they repent and are steadfast in prayer, and give alms, then let them go their way; verily God is forgiving and merciful."[2] The jihad against the Christians and Jews is preached in milder terms: "Make war upon such of those to whom the Scriptures have been given as believe not in God, or in the last day, and forbid not that which God and his apostle have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled."[3] The Moslem commentators agree that the duty of the holy war is meant to extend to all time.

In the Book of Joshua may be found description of events that indeed seem to parallel the deeds and spirit of the jihad. But no one has arisen in Islam to say: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy, but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." The spirit of these words, I repeat, enters vitally into the ideal of Christianity, but it does not enter into the ideal of Islam, as presented in the Koran or as held

[1] The attitude of the Koran in regard to Christians is self-contradictory. It is usually stated that, as the years went on, Mohammed underwent a change toward them, from a spirit of conciliation to one more uncompromising. However, surah V, according to Nöldeke the last one revealed, contains two of the most conflicting statements. In verse 56 we read: "O ye who believe, take not the Jews and Christians for your patrons (or friends); they are patrons (or friends) of each other; but whoso amongst you takes them for patrons, verily he is of them, and verily God guides not an unjust people." But in verse 85 we are told that of all men nearest in love to believers are those who say "we are Christians"!

[2] Surah IX, 5–8.

[3] IX, 29 (Hughes's translation).

by its votaries. Saint Bartholomew's Day and the massacres at Kishineff, to take example from a long catalogue of events dishonoring to Christianity, constitute a direct denial of this ideal. What shall we say of the massacres of Adana, when within a few days at least 12,000 men, women, and children of the district were murdered with unspeakable horrors; when this slaughter was sometimes preceded by a sermon in the mosque, and often accompanied by cries on the prophet and curses upon Christianity? The answer is by no means simple. It must not be forgotten that, while the fanaticism of the people was doubtless utilized, these massacres are supposed to have formed but a part of that counter-revolution started by 'Abdul-Ḥamîd, in a last desperate attempt to retain his sovereignty;[1] it must not be forgotten that agents of the reaction terrified the people by insinuating the conviction that the Moslem supremacy was threatened by the Armenians, color being given to this insinuation by the actions of a few hare-brained Armenian revolutionists; it must not be forgotten that the ingrained passions of cruelty and greed and lust are bound to rage in any uncontrolled mob when once it has become inflamed; it must not be forgotten that the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the relig-

[1] The Armenian massacres of 1895–6, in which 100,000 people were butchered, were arranged and ordered by the central government at Constantinople. At this time the province of Adana was not affected. After the Adana massacres of 1908, stories were afloat in different centres of Asia Minor and Syria, telling of orders from Constantinople for the massacre of Christians which were set aside by the local authorities, civil or military. None of these stories has, as far as I am aware, been authenticated, but not all have been disproved. The parliamentary committee, consisting of three young Turks and two Armenians, sent to investigate the Adana massacre, in spite of their predisposition to accept evidence implicating the old sultan, failed entirely to find this. Dr. Shepard, of 'Aintab (see article in the "Journal of Race Development," January, 1911, p. 339), states that seventy Moslems were hanged for killing Christians in the general uprising. The same writer says of the massacre (p. 327): "It seems to have been a spontaneous local outbreak, and its only connection with 'Abdul-Ḥamîd was that when the reactionaries got the welcome news that he was again in the saddle, they thought that by the massacre of Armenians they could feed fat their ancient grudge, enrich themselves, and at the same time ingratiate themselves with the sultan."

ious head of the Mohammedans of Turkey, has officially repudiated these atrocities as contrary to the teaching of Islam,[1] and finally it should not be forgotten that in many cases Christians escaped death by finding shelter with kindly Moslems. Two things, however, are certain. If ever the day dawns when the Sermon on the Mount shall control the actions of Christendom, on that day the spirit that made Saint Bartholomew's or the tragedy of Kishineff a possibility will vanish; but as long as Islam repudiates the fatherhood of God, thus repudiating at the same time the universal brotherhood of man, so long will a recrudescence of the Adana massacres remain as a menace to the Turkish Empire. The noble affirmations of Islam are in constant danger of paralysis from its negations.

The second part of the kalimah, or creed, states that Mohammed is the apostle of God. It is important to remember that Mohammed did not claim to be the founder of a new religion, but merely to announce a new covenant. The Koran calls him the seal of the prophets.[2] He thus is believed to have at once confirmed and superseded the revelations made to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. We have seen that Mohammed in the Koran distinguishes between himself as an erring mortal and as the prophet of God. For his followers to-day, however, the distinction has faded out of sight. While any direct attribution of divinity would be universally and indignantly repudiated by his followers, his practical apotheosis is wellnigh complete. He is held to have been sinless. Every perfection of character is attributed to him. Prayers are never addressed to him,

[1] See article, "The Moslem Answer to Christendom," in "Pearson's Magazine" for August, 1909, pp. 165-168, by James Creelman, who had an interview with the Sheikh ul-Islam shortly after the massacres. "There is nothing," said the sheikh, "in the law, nothing in the Koran, nothing in Moslem policy or intention that sanctions hatred or strife between subjects of the empire, be they Moslems, Christians, or Jews. . . . I say this officially and without any reserve." "We look upon the massacres with horror," etc., etc.

[2] Surah XXXIII, 40.

but his name is never mentioned without a prayer.[1] He is to be the intercessor at the day of judgment. His example in matters of faith and practice, as substantiated by the traditions, which profess to be the records of what he did, of what he said, and of what was done in his presence, unforbidden by him, is practically as binding as the teaching of the Koran itself. Practice based on the example of the prophet is called "Sunnah." The traditions—often called the table-talk of Mohammed—vary greatly in their authenticity, which has been the subject of much learned discussion. For example, Abu Daud received only 4,800 out of 500,000![2]

[1] There is a phrase constantly on the lips of the peasants of Syria when they wish to emphasize the importance of a statement which is capable of misinterpretation by strangers who translate it carelessly, "Pray to the Prophet." This phrase has been explained to me by a noted Arab grammarian as an ellipsis for a longer phrase. When a man is adjured with the words صلي على النبي, he at once responds: صلّى اللّٰه عليه وسلّم (God has prayed for him and blessed him). Hence the full meaning of the adjuration is: "Say, God has prayed for Mohammed and blessed him"—a quotation from the daily prayer. When the adjuration is put in the form of a question, it means something as follows: "Are you paying strict attention? Are you in a sufficiently serious frame of mind regarding the matter in hand that you can say: 'God has prayed for the prophet?'" etc. Sometimes porters when carrying a load call out "Ya rusul Allah" (O prophet of God!), just as they call out "Ya Khalîl" (O Abraham!), or just as the dervishes address the long-dead founders of their orders.

[2] See article, "Traditions," in Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam." In regard to the bearing of the traditions on Moslem theology, Stanley Lane Poole makes the following observations in his "Studies in a Mosque," pp. 164–167. "A large portion of what Moslems believe and practice is not found in the Koran at all. We do not mean that the traditions of Mohammed are not as good authority as the Koran—and, indeed, except that in the latter case the prophet professed to speak the words of God, and in the former he did not so profess, there is little to choose between them—nor do we assert that the early doctors of the law displayed any imaginative faculty in drawing their inferences and analogies, though we have our suspicions; all that we would insist on is that it is a mistake to call the Koran either the theological compendium or the corpus legis of Islam."

The Sunnis recognize four Orthodox schools of interpretation—the Hanafî'yeh, Shafi'î'yeh, Malakî'yeh, and Hanbalî'yeh. Their differ-

Though held in extreme reverence, the prophet's name is freely bestowed on the children of Moslems. Mohammed is the commonest name in all Islam.

Before passing on to the second pillar of practical religion, we may glance rapidly at the remaining points of Moslem theology.[1] Of the six articles which enter into the Iman' Mufas'sal, or formal declaration of Moslem belief, we have sufficiently considered the first and third, the unity of God, and the sacred books. In our sketch of the idea of God, we have also touched on the sixth, the doctrine of predestination. We may add here that, as taught by the Koran, the doctrine agrees with the Westminster confession that "God foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." The traditions say that God preordained five things on his servants; the duration of life, their actions, their dwelling-places, their travels, and their portions. However, the influence of the doctrine on the mental attitude of Moslems finds but a partial analogy in the outlook on life of those Christians who to-day subscribe to the Shorter Catechism. For them belief in predestination has become purely academic. But in the Mohammedan world all the decrees of God are potent forces. On them is based that Islam or resignation

ences consist chiefly in minor variations of ritual and varied interpretations of Moslem law. The Shi'ahs have a corpus of traditions of their own, including many sayings of 'Ali and the other Imams. They reject the corpus of the Sunnis, especially repudiating the traditions preserved by the first three caliphs.

In the great mosque at Damascus there are four mihrabs, or prayer-niches, for the use of the four Orthodox schools respectively. The Malakîyeh are few in Syria. On the other hand, the Shafi'îyeh, who follow the easiest rites, are common, outnumbering, at least in Damascus and environs, the followers of all other schools, and including the mass of the people, fellahîn and tradesmen. The Hanafîyeh have been called the Pharisees of Islam, as their sheikhs wear intensely white turbans and teach stricter forms of ablution, etc. Their followers are found among the aristocrats and high Turkish officials.

[1] As recognized by all Western commentators, the theology of Islam is a synthesis of ideas borrowed, in more or less distorted form, from heathenism, Christianity, and Talmudic Judaism, the last-named element greatly predominating. A tabulated analysis of the sources of the different elements, which represents the point of view of the compiler, is given in "Arabia the Cradle of Islam," by S. M. Zwemer.

which names the religion itself. The practical effects of the doctrine, however, range between two extremes. At one extreme is the apathetic fatalism of the ignorant masses that refuses to take precautions against disease even in the midst of an epidemic. At the other is true submission to the will of a just God, experienced by many a pious Moslem, a submission which another great Semitic religion has voiced in the expressions: "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him"; and into which Christianity has transfused its own gentler spirit, breathing forth in the hymn "I worship thee, sweet will of God." One saying of Mohammed, which softens the harshness of the doctrine, may be quoted: Once the prophet was sitting under a wall that suddenly began to totter; quickly rising, he crossed over to the other side of the road. When the on-lookers accused him of fleeing from the decree of God, he replied: "By the decree of God I have fled from the decree of God to the decree of God!"

There remain to be noticed briefly the doctrines concerning the angels, the prophets—apart from Mohammed—and the resurrection, including the judgment, heaven, and hell. A belief in angels, jinns, and devils is not only taught by the Koran and the traditions, but enters vitally into the life of Islam. There are four archangels: Gabriel, through whom the Koran was revealed; Michael, the patron of the Jews; Azrael, who is the Angel of Death; and Israfel, who will sound the last trump. Every believer is said to be attended by two recording angels, to note respectively his good and bad deeds. The numerous bands of angels also includes Mun′kar and Nakîr′, who preside at the examination of the tomb, to be described later.[1] The jinns or genii comprise spirits of various shapes, and include both good and bad. The Koran is full of teachings in regard to their nature and doings, while the possibility of their appearance is a constant source of terror to simple-minded Mohammedans. Equally numerous are the devils, headed by Satan, who is called both Shaitân′ and Iblîs′. With tiresome iteration the Koran tells the story of his expulsion from para-

[1] See p. 293.

dise because he refused to adore Adam along with the other angels.

The Moslem commentators distinguish between the ordinary prophets, who indeed are held to have been directly inspired of God, and the apostles, who, over and above the ordinary prophetic function, are intrusted with especial missions. Mohammed is related to have said that there had been 124,000 an'biya, or prophets, and 315 ru'sul, or apostles. Six of the latter have especial titles: Adam, the chosen of God; Noah, the preacher of God; Abraham, the friend of God; Moses, the converser with God; Jesus, the spirit of God; and Mohammed, the messenger of God. Enoch (Idrîs'), Methuselah, Lot, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Aaron, David, Solomon, Job, Elijah, Elisha, Zacharias, and John the Baptist (Yah'ya) were all prophets. Some include Alexander the Great and Æsop, though Moslem commentators differ as to whether they were actually inspired. Many of these are no more than names to the people, but the ejaculation "Ya Khalîl'" ("O Friend"), by which Abraham is signified, is common in southern Palestine—where, indeed, Hebron, the burial-place of the patriarchs, ordinarily goes by the name of El-Khalîl; while the cult of Elijah is universal, whether under his own name or under that of Khudr, the ever living one, or that of Saint George, with both of whom he is identified.[1]

The theology of Islam is dominated by its eschatology. In the Koran there are no descriptions more graphic and detailed than those of the resurrection and the day of judgment, of heaven and hell. It is the consensus of Moslem interpretation that the accounts are to be taken literally. The descriptions of the resurrection and the day of judgment are not without a certain grandeur of moral dignity. The description of paradise is, on the face of it, sensuous rather than sensual, though Palmer seems to state the case altogether too euphemistically when he says: "It appears . . . from the Quran, to be little more than an intense realization of all that a dweller in a hot, parched, and barren land could desire, namely, shade, water, fruit, rest, and pleas-

[1] Compare with p. 10.

ant companionship and service."[1] Attention should be called to a very few passages which rise to a higher conception of paradise, involving the idea of moral purity. "They shall hear there no folly and no sin; only the speech, Peace, peace!" "They shall pass to and fro a cup in which is no folly and no sin." Paradise is to contain "no folly and no lie." It is a place for "those not lusting."[2] But whatever may be the ideas of the Koran, the "table talk" of Mohammed is strongly tainted with sensuality. The least of the believers is promised eighty thousand slaves and seventy-two thousand women. Popular conception agrees with official interpretation in taking such statements literally.

The description of hell is crudely realistic, coarsely lurid, reeking with loathsome physical detail, reiterated with horrid unction, with odious gusto. Heaven, in one of its seven divisions, is the final destination of all Moslems. Hell, also in seven divisions, is the eternal reward of all those who reject Islam.[3] Opinions differ as to an intermediate purgatorial state for those Moslems who have committed great sins. The accounts of the day of judgment, with its balance, in which good and evil deeds are weighed, favor the purgatorial idea.[4] The time of the great day is unknown to all save God alone: not even Gabriel could reveal it to Mohammed. It is to be preceded by the resurrection, which is to be ushered in by many signs:[5] among these will be the descent of Jesus to inaugurate a short period having the millenial marks of universal harmony; the appearance of Gog and Magog; various convulsions of nat-

[1] See the introduction to Palmer's translation, p. lxx.

[2] LVI, 24, 25; LII, 23; LXXVIII, 35; LXXIX, 40.

[3] So the general teaching, though the following passage appears to point the other way: "Verily whether it be of those who believe, or those who are Jews or Christians or Sabæans, whosoever believe in God and the last day and act aright, they have their reward at their Lord's hand, and there is no fear for them, neither shall they grieve." (Surah II, 59.)

[4] For this I find confirmation in a satiric anecdote once told me by a Moslem friend, involving the punishment of hell for those Moslems who do not fast in Ramadhan.

[5] Many of these are borrowed from the Talmud.

ure; a recrudescence of idolatry, and the coming of the Mahdi, or guide. On the great day, God alone is to be the judge, though Mohammed will act as intercessor, after the office shall have been refused in turn by the other great prophets from Adam to Jesus. After the ordeal is over, those destined for heaven take the right-hand way, and those destined for hell the left, but both must first pass over the bridge called Es-Sirât, which is laid over the mouth of hell,[1] and which is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. Such are the mere outlines of the Moslem eschatology, which ramify into extraordinary detail.

II. Prayer

The second pillar of practical religion is prayer. While the privileges of private or personal prayer, unrestricted by formula, at any time the believer's heart is turned toward God, is recognized by the Koran, and doubtless enjoyed by many a pious Moslem, prayer is usually a fixed liturgical formula uttered at set times and in a prescribed series of positions. For these stereotyped forms the Koran is not responsible, as not even all the five times of prayer are indicated together in any one place. The stated hours of prayer are at dawn, a little after mid-day, in the middle of the afternoon, a few minutes after sunset, and when the night has closed in. Established centuries before the time of clocks and watches, the tradition of the seasons of prayer is not kept with exactitude. I have seen a man at his mid-

[1] P. T. Baldensperger, brought up in Jerusalem, declares that the phrase, "Guide us in the straight or right way," found in the first surah of the Koran, refers to this bridge, which "will be fixed on the temple wall of Jerusalem on one side and on the top of the mosque of Mount Olivet on the other, whilst a huge fire will fill the Valley of Jehoshaphat below. On the judgment-day, when all men will be assembled on the temple area, Mohammed will make them pass the bridge. All such as have said their prayers will pass to the other side, whilst such as have omitted them will fall into the fire. But Mohammed will save the Moslems after their having burned for a while." (See article, "Woman in the East," found in the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," 1899, p. 146.)

afternoon devotions within three-quarters of an hour of sunset. I have heard the cry wafted from the minaret two hours before sunrise, when the dawn was not even a promise. This adhan, or call to prayer, sung in a sort of florid chant, rings out above every mosque in Islam. In Turkey the flag often floats over the minaret during the function. The crier, or muadh′dhin, is often chosen for the strength and sweetness of his voice. In a closely built city like Sidon it is inspiring to listen from the house top to this human carillon, borne through the sunset glow from minaret to minaret, with many a variety of key and cadence. The singer first faces the south, turning to the other points of the compass as the chant proceeds. In the minarets of the large mosques the singers may be two or more, chanting now alternately, now in unison. "God is great!" they call four times, and then repeat the phrases: "I testify that there is no God but God! I testify that Mohammed is the prophet of God! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! God is great. . . . Mercy and peace be unto thee, O prophet of God!" In some lands after the first or morning call the words are added: "Prayer is better than sleep!"

While the call to prayer is borne over their heads, the worshippers should murmur appropriate responses, though some of them may still be going through the prescribed ablutions (wadhu′a‘) at the large pool in the court-yard, washing their mouth, face, nostrils, hands, arms, up to the elbows, and feet up to the ankles. It is meritorious to ejaculate a brief prayer appropriate to each action.[1] Where water is unavailable, as in the desert, sand may be used instead. But the Moslem does not need to enter a mosque to perform these regular devotions. He may make any clean spot a place of prayer. Islam has none of the *mauvaise honte* or false shame attaching to the practice of Protestant Christianity. Your Moslem visitor may interrupt the conversation for a few minutes, while he says the noon prayer

[1] These are given in Wortabet's "Religion in the East," p. 212. Note that these ablutions necessary before each prayer are to be distinguished from the Ghusl, or washing of the whole body, prescribed after certain acts that produce legal impurity.

on the rug in your reception-room. I once saw a man put down his prayer-rug on the floor of a railway car. As the train was winding through the tortuous valley leading up to Jerusalem, the worshipper, who had begun his prayer with his face turned southward toward Mecca (as is required),[1] soon found himself twisted toward every point of the compass, till finally he suspended his devotions to consult the company, who comforted him by agreeing that God would doubtless recognize his good intentions in the matter of orientation. Pilgrims for Mecca may be seen adjusting their rugs on the steamer deck by a small pocket compass.

No matter when or where it is uttered, the Moslem formula of prayer is unvarying. The prescribed series of positions—standing, bowing, kneeling, with the head at times bent to the earth and the hands in various positions: hanging at the side, folded on the stomach, stretched out from the lobes of the ears, touching the knees, or spread on the earth—these positions, with the accompanying ejaculations and quotations from the Koran, constitute a rak'ah, or prostration. The number of rak'ahs employed varies with the different times and with the zeal of the worshipper. The rak'ahs are ordinarily designated either fardh, obligatory, or sunnah, voluntary—a purely subjective distinction, as the formula is practically the same in both cases. When a Moslem is performing a fardh, or obligatory prostration, he is supposed to be following a positive command of God; when he declares his prostration to be sunnah, or voluntary, he is following the example of his prophet.[2] We might, perhaps, rank in theory the sunnah prostration with those called nafl and witr, which are acknowledged to be works of merit or supererogation. As a matter of practice, however, the sunnah prostrations are seldom omitted by the Orthodox Moslem unless pressed for time, though their performance is sometimes less formal than that of the fardh devotions, as we shall see shortly.[3] It is estimated that

[1] Moslems at first prayed toward the temple in Jerusalem.

[2] These distinctions apply to many practices besides prayer. (See Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," p. 286.)

[3] For the Shi'ah practice, see p. 303.

if the believer follows out all the number and variety of rak'ahs required and recommended, he will repeat the same formula seventy-five times in a day![1] A Syrian Moslem has the advantage over his coreligionists in all other parts of Asia, except Arabia, in that his oft-repeated prayers are uttered in his mother-tongue. Mohammed gloried in his Arabic Koran, just because it was in the speech of the common people, but his successors guard jealously this Arabic Koran from translation, even such parts as enter into the daily devotions of millions of Moslems, in China and India, who cannot understand what they are repeating! Dr. Zwemer estimates that three-fourths of the Mohammedan world pray five times daily in an unknown tongue.[2]

Every prayer to be acceptable must begin with a formal declaration. The exact wording varies with the education of the worshipper, but the sentiment should be expressed in some such words as, "I have purposed to pray to Almighty God (say) two fardh rak'ahs at this present noon, a duty which I owe to Almighty God, facing toward the Holy Ka'aba." After this declaration the man invalidates his prayer if he interrupts it to answer a question, and this cannot be done unless he first turns to the right and left, addressing the words, "Peace be upon you," to the inhabitants of the spirit world. He then must begin afresh with the declaration. After uttering the first ejaculation, "God is great," the prayer is invalidated if for more than three times the worshipper relaxes the prescribed positions of the hands, in wiping off perspiration, or brushing off a fly. The prayer actually begins with the repetition of the fat'hah, or first chapter of the Koran, which has been called the Lord's Prayer of Islam, so constantly is it uttered: "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, the Compassionate, the Merciful, King of the Day of Judgment! Thee we worship,

[1] See the article, "Prayer," in Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," where the number of rak'ahs to be said at different times is given with illustrations of all the postures, and full text of the ritual.

[2] "Islam: A Challenge to Faith," p. 104, by S. M. Zwemer (New York, 1910).

and Thee we ask for help. Guide us in the right way, the way of those to whom Thou art gracious; not of those upon whom is Thy wrath, nor of the erring."[1] After this, the worshipper should recite one long or two short verses from the Koran, but he may extend the quotations at his discretion. The choice often falls on the short chapter of the unity: "Say: He is God alone; God the Eternal! He begetteth not, and is not begotten; and there is none like unto him.[2] The rest of the rak'ah consists of other verses from the Koran and of brief ejaculations in praise of God and of his greatness, uttered in various postures. The second rak'ah is a repetition of the first. At the end the worshipper, being on his knees, says, "Salutations and mercies and good things are unto God. The mercy and blessing of God be unto thee, O prophet!" Here follows the creed: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God"—during the recital of which the Moslem raises the right forefinger. This performance is repeated at the end of each pair of rak'ahs which closes with the prayer: "O God have mercy on Mohammed and his people, as Thou hadst mercy on Abraham and his people, and bless Mohammed and his people as Thou didst bless Abraham and his people, for Thou art full of praise and glory." The worshipper then turns his head to the right and to the left, saying to the angels and to the spirits of the departed: "Peace be unto you!" The third and fourth rak'ahs repeat the features of the preceding, omitting the chapter after the fat'hah. The declaration is not repeated unless there be a change from sunnah to fardh, or *vice versa*. At the close of the series the man is at liberty to go about his business, but the pious man will continue crouched on his knees, with his hands open before him, engaged in private supplication, praying in his own words for blessings on his family, for forgiveness, for guidance, or for anything he needs. Some continue long in such prayers, extending the

[1] Translation of Stanley Lane Poole. The fat'hah is sometimes preceded by a short quotation from the Koran in the first rak'ah alone.

[2] Surah CXII.

time of worship further by praising God with the help of the rosary.[1]

The sunnah, or voluntary prayer, is always said by a man alone, or independently of an imam', or leader, and it is always whispered. When several persons are to offer the fardh, or obligatory prayer, at the same time, it is proper that some one of their number should act as leader, saying parts of the service in a loud voice, while at some points the others make responses. When alone, a man says part of the fardh prayer aloud and whispers the rest. It is clear, thus, that wherever a Mohammedan may be, he may perform to the full his duties toward God, independent of priest and mosque. Nevertheless, with the development of the powerful body of the 'ulama, or learned, whose learning is usually confined to the study and interpretation of the Koran and the traditions, has developed also a sort of clergy—indeed, a sort of hierarchy. But it is a clergy *de facto* rather than *de jure;* a clergy of practical convenience rather than of ordination. Moreover, though the "clergy" act as an official body, the members are originally self-appointed. Any one, by devoting himself to the study of the Koran, or by attaching himself to a mosque, may assume the white turban of a religious sheikh. At any time he may "unfrock" himself by discarding the turban. The nearest approach to ordination, as far as I am aware, obtains in central Asia, where the turban is bound on the head of the would-be sheikh by a chief mowlawa, or scholar.[2] Of course, many of these religious sheikhs cannot technically aspire to the name of 'ulama, or learned men, but they may be loosely classed with them. Like them they live and move among the people, and yet are subtly separate from the mass. The 'ulama may engage in secular busi-

[1] The Moslem rosary consists of ninty-nine round beads, loose on a string, divided into three sections by two extra round beads, called "showa'hîd," or "witnesses," with an elongated bead at the end called the "mai'dany," the word used for "minaret."

[2] See Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," article, "Clergy." Compare with a similar function among the Palestine dervishes, p. 241, of the present work.

ness, but their whole bearing is stamped with their religious calling. In my employ in the Lachish excavations was a very poor young, white-turbaned "sheikh," whose conditions of life were the same with those of his fellow-workmen, save that he could read and write, while they could not; yet he was subtly differentiated from them by that indescribable air which in one way or another marks the "theological student" of whatever race or religion. As a class, the ʻulama appear to be devout, fanatic, obscurantist, jealous of the least encroachment, resentful of any innovation. Of course, exceptions occur. Nothing could have exceeded the helpful courtesy of well-known Moslem ʻulama extended to me when I was making researches in Damascus. One of these, Sheikh Ta'hir el-Mugh'raby, whom I surprised with a visit, unintroduced and unannounced, proved to be an enthusiastic scholar, living by choice in the humblest quarters, that he might buy books, which absolutely hemmed him in on every side, and which were by no means confined to Koranic studies. With the generosity of the true savant, he was eager to extend his enjoyment of his treasures to others. During his last journey, the late Dr. Curtiss had similar experiences. Resident Christian missionaries have cordial relations with the more liberal-minded sheikhs. The influence of the ʻulama on public life is instanced by a large number of deputies to Parliament, elected from this class.

Theoretically, at the head of Islam is the caliph (kalî'fah), or successor of the prophet. Though the sultans of Turkey, being not even Arabs, of course fail to satisfy the canonical rule requiring all caliphs to belong to the Qureish, or tribe of Mohammed, they, by virtue of their guardianship of the Hall of the Holy Garments, at Constantinople, containing the prophet's mantle, staff, and standard, are generally recognized as caliphs, except by certain African Mohammedans, notably by the inhabitants of Morocco, whose sultan strengthens his claim to the caliphate by an undoubted sherifian pedigree.[1] The Turkish sultans, however, have prac-

[1] The claim of the Ottoman sultans to the caliphate rests on the following transaction: The temporal power of the Abbasside caliphs of Baghdad, who ruled from 750 to 1258 A. D., was overthrown at the

tically delegated their religious duties to the chiefs of the 'ulama. Thus, even the caliph himself is bound by the "fet'was," or authoritative interpretations of the Koran delivered by the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who represents the final court of religious appeal in Turkey. At Mecca the religious power is exercised by the Grand Sherif, whose nomination must be approved by the Sheikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople. The Moslem "hierarchy" is not sacerdotal, neither does it distinguish between religion and law. The ordinary grades are imam', muf'ti, and qa'dhi. The imam[1] is practically the "minister of the parish"; leading in prayer at the mosque, sometimes preaching the sermon, and performing the religious ceremony usual at marriages. The great mosque at Aleppo has a large staff, supported by the "waqf," or religious endowments, including eight imams, five preachers, twenty-five teachers, and twelve muadh'dhins, or those who call to prayer. The qa'dhi is the judge and administrator of the Koranic law. It is customary for him to lead the prayers at a funeral, though this function may be performed by the imam. He also may conduct the marriage ceremony. The muf'ti assists the qa'dhi in the capacity of legal adviser. His "fet'was," or decisions of different legal questions, are recognized as authoritative.

In the Koran the believers are commanded, when they hear the call to prayer on congregation day, to leave all traffic and hasten to the remembrance of God. The reference is to Friday, the day on which Mohammed entered

latter date by Khalak Khan. Their natural descendants, however, who resided in Cairo for some three centuries, continued to claim the spiritual power. From the last of these titular caliphs, Sultan Selim I of the house of 'Othman obtained, in 1517 A. D., a transfer or cession of rights to the succession, the legality of which has been strongly disputed and strongly defended. For a discussion of this much-involved question, see Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," article, "Khalifah."

[1] The word imam is used by the Sunnis in different senses to denote the following classes of persons: (1) The khalifah, or successor of the prophet. (2) The great doctors of divinity. (3) The leader of prayers in any mosque. For the use of term by the Shiahs, see p. 301. In the villages of Palestine the term khatib', scribe, school-master, appears to be equivalent to imam.

Medinah for the first time. On this day, in Syria and Palestine, all government offices are closed. Prayer, then, is attended with extraordinary merit, the chief services at the mosque being at noon.[1] It is estimated that at Broussa, the ancient capital of Turkey, ninety-five per cent of the population attend the mosque regularly. At Nablus, the ancient Shechem, now a strong centre of fanaticism, Moslem men found in the street at this noon hour on Friday are liable to be stoned by Moslem children. The interiors of the mosques, large or small, are of striking simplicity. In the south is the mihrab′, or small apse directed toward Mecca.[2] To the right of this should stand the mim′bar, or pulpit. In many small mosques this is wanting, as there is no preaching. On the walls, usually whitewashed, but sometimes richly decorated with marbles, hang no pictures. No seats cover the exquisitely neat floor, which may be strewn with mats. Shoes must be left outside the low bar or partition at the door. In the centre of the arcaded court-yard often attached to mosques there is usually a large tank in which the worshippers perform the preliminary ablutions.

Most mosques in Syria and Palestine, including the most celebrated, occupy the sites of Christian churches. Such are the great mosques at Aleppo, Beyrout, Damascus, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gaza. Sometimes the old church was destroyed, sometimes radically remodelled, sometimes adapted to the new cult with the minimum of alteration. The sanctuaries or ḥa′rams at Jerusalem and Hebron illustrate the history of three great religions. The enclosing walls of the Hebron ḥa′ram are Herodian. At the south end of the court-yard the crusaders built a church which the Moslems turned into a mosque. Their claim that the cenotaphs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with those of their wives, are placed above the cave of Macphelah is ordinarily accepted by scholars. Verification is impossible, as no one is permitted to search beneath the floor. Indeed, with the

[1] The classical name for mosque is mas′jid, that is, a place of worship. The name ordinarily in use in Syria is ja′mia‘, or place of congregation.

[2] The great mosque at Damascus contains four praying niches for the respective use of the followers of the four schools of interpretation.

exception of a half-dozen great personages with their suites, who have faced the local fanaticism with an imperial permit, no Christian is allowed within the enclosure. The Ḥa′ram-esh-Sherîf′, or noble sanctuary at Jerusalem, in the view of the Mohammedan world, is second in holiness only to the great mosques at Mecca and Medinah. The term ḥa′ram applies to the whole area, once forming the temple court, and still enclosed by massive walls, which contain stones of many periods, including wonder-compelling courses of megalithic Jewish masonry, both below and above ground. Within this area stand the Kub′bet-es-Sakh′ra, or Dome of the Rock, and the Mas′jid-el-Aq′sa, which is the chief place of worship in the Holy City. The former building (wrongly known as the Mosque of Omar), octagonal in shape, is not ordinarily used as a mosque, though it contains a praying-niche. It was built as a memorial shrine, at the end of the seventh century, by the Caliph 'Abd-el-Me′lik to cover the extended outcrop of rock around which so many Jewish and Mohammedan traditions have gathered. According to the former, here is the spot where Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac; according to the latter, it was the point of departure for Mohammed, on his celebrated night journey to paradise. It was probably the site of the great altar of sacrifice of the Jewish Temple. During the crusading period the building was turned into a church called the Templum Domini. The guardianship is hereditary in one family. It contains famous ancient copies of the Koran, as well as banners of Mohammed and 'Omar. The Masjid-el-Aqsa on the south wall of the enclosure, was originally built by Justinian as a church to the Virgin.

Merit, attaching to the Friday devotions, is still further increased by attending the noon prayer at the Aqsa Mosque. Here assemble not only the faithful from the Holy City, but many peasants from the environs. Long before the time for service, the people begin to choose their places, seating themselves in long lines across the matted floor, for the nearer the worshipper is to the imam, or leader, the greater will be the blessing. Perhaps he may have already offered the in-

formal sunnah prostrations in the vast grassy area outside; if not, he performs them in the place he has secured. Thus, at the same time, a single line may show worshippers in every posture of prayer. At noon a dozen or more sheikhs, in the gallery opposite the pulpit, begin to chant verses of the Koran, or hymns composed for the service. At the mention of the name of Mohammed, those who are not taken up with their own devotions murmur, in true Methodist style, "God prayed for him and blessed him!" In the meantime the imam has been donning the especial Friday vestments—a green cloak or sort of soutane and an ample green turban. Staff in hand, he walks through the long lines, preceded by a lesser sheikh acting as verger, to clear the way. At the gate of the pulpit stairs they pause, while the verger turns to the people and warns them, by quoting a saying of the prophet, not to disturb the service, even by whispering "Be quiet" to a neighbor! While the imam is making his slow and stately ascent of the high pulpit stairs with a pause on each step,[1] the great mosque is sounding with the call to prayer. Verse by verse the verger repeats this adhan; verse by verse it is echoed by the sheikhs in the gallery; verse by verse it is caught up by a singer at the door, who in a loud voice passes on the holy summons to the hundreds of worshippers outside extended in parallel lines over the ancient court-yard.

The imam has now completed his ascent of the pulpit, and, staff laid aside, is standing between the two banners of the mosque, ready to begin the sermon. This lasts for fifteen or twenty minutes, and may be delivered extempore, but more often is the sermon for the day read from a printed book of discourses for every Friday in the year. They treat of subjects of practical morality: the vanity of the present world, the evanescence of kingly power, the importance of good works. After the sermon, the imam offers a prayer for the sultan, which he may have written out and committed to memory. While he is praying, the people may take advantage of a favorable opportunity, as they sit silent,

[1] The imam sometimes repeats the fat'ḥah, or first chapter of the Koran on each step.

to offer private petitions. Then the imam goes down from the pulpit and proceeding to the mihrab, or small apse, toward the south, stands with his back to the people as their leader in the main function of the service—the two fardh, or obligatory prostrations, which, because of the especial merit attaching to the day, take the place of the usual four. In contrast to the sunnah, or voluntary prostrations, which, as we have noticed, each man performs independently, these obligatory rak'ahs are gone through with military precision. The hundreds of worshippers in long lines make a most impressive sight: now standing erect, with hands folded on the breast, now bending downward from the waist, now down on their knees with forehead touching the ground, and, at the close, all turning the head to the right and to the left, as they breathe the word of peace to the spirits of the departed. At the conclusion of the recital of the fat'hah by the imam, the people murmur "Amen!" and while he is uttering the next passage from the Koran, they all whisper together the words of the fat'hah. When the two required fardh prostrations are over, the lines are often at once broken up, one man taking a step forward, another a step backward, as it is usual to change the position before the two remaining sunnah or voluntary rak'ahs are performed, independently of the imam, as before. All through the service representatives of the mendicant pilgrims have been going between the lines quietly dropping before each man a leaflet upon which have been written verses from the Koran, exhorting to charity. A collection is continuously made of such coins as the worshippers may have put on the papers. Many remain in the mosque after the service is over, listening to more chanting, or repeating the beautiful names of Allah, as they tell the ninety-nine beads of the rosary.

III. Fasting and Legal Alms

For the Moslem, the third pillar of practical religion is fasting. This is regarded as an atonement for sin. While many seasons are recommended for fasting, it is obligatory only during the month of Ramadhan, when the Koran was

revealed from heaven. In regard to its observance the book is most explicit. It begins on the first day of the month only when a reputable witness is able to announce that he has seen the new moon. If the night is overclouded at a given place the fast is postponed there to the second day. From early dawn, when one can distinguish a white thread from a black, till sunset, all adults should abstain from food, water, tobacco, and from every sensuous indulgence, including even the smelling of flowers. As the Moslem year is lunar, each Ramadhan occurs eleven days earlier than the previous, so that in the course of about thirty-three years it has fallen in the depth of winter, when the gnawings of hunger lengthen out the short days, as well as in the fierce heat of summer, when the thirst becomes almost unbearable.[1] From these strict exactions are exempt young children, infirm persons, and women who are pregnant or giving suck. The sick and travellers on a journey of more than three days may remit the fast, but must make up later an equal number of days. The season is supposed to offer a means of grace. It is practically a Moslem equivalent for Lent. The devout seclude themselves, spending much of the time in the study of the Koran. To the weight of every pound of charity done at this season, God is said to add three pounds. Many give up indulgence in doubtful practices, such as gambling. Old quarrels are made up. On the other hand hunger and thirst themselves foster exasperation and dispute. "Ramadhan temper" is a recognized disorder. Wortabet says: "It is computed that more cases of divorce take place during this month than in any other two of the year."[2] Fanaticism is easily aroused. The rich spend much of the day in sleep, but the poor must go on earning their daily bread. I can testify to the rigid observance of the fast-day by the large majority of my half a hundred peasant workmen in southern Palestine, when

[1] As established by the prophet, the Mohammedan year consists of twelve lunar months, without any intercalation to make it correspond with the course of the sun, and amounts very nearly to three hundred and fifty-four days and nine hours.

[2] "Religion in the East," *op. cit.*, p. 218.

Ramadhan fell in the torrid month of May. At noon recess, instead of eating with the women, almost all the men and youths lay down to rest till the whistle summoned them to work again, unrefreshed by food or drink. On the other hand, some of the townspeople make a pretence of fasting for the sake of public opinion. "I cannot eat in town," said a young man whom I found seated by a stream on one of my country rides near Beyrout; "and as, of course, I must eat, I am forced to have a picnic with some of my friends who have just gone home." On the whole, however, fasting is much more rigidly observed than are the five daily hours of prayer. Sometimes this observance is most meticulous, as when a woman with a bad throat in the hospital demurred to having her tongue held down by an iron presser, on the ground that nothing should pass her lips. The rigid conscience of the poor creature doubtless suspected even the clinical thermometer of concealing some forbidden nourishment.

Ample compensation for the day's fasting is offered by the night's feasting, which may begin with sunset and last till dawn, though, as a rule, only two meals are taken. Indeed, Moslems have assured me that the long hours of fasting leave the stomach so disinclined for food that a man eats less than usual. The choicest food of the year, however, is prepared for the nights of Ramadhan. Confectioners then drive their richest trade. All the fruits of the season are temptingly exposed in the shops. Night is turned into day. The coffee-houses are crowded with men leisurely pulling at the gayly decorated narghileh, with a sense of luxury fostered by a day's abstinence from tobacco. The mosques and minarets are brilliant with lights. One night in Beyrout I came across a large company seated in an open space near a mosque, listening to a sort of sacred concert. From the lofty minaret was borne the sound of the fresh young voices of boys ornamenting their singing with many a flourish and roulade and florid cadenza, showing a flexibility of the vocal cords that a diva might well envy.[1] The night's sleep is

[1] My recollection does not include the day of the month or the exact hour of night. The function was probably either the towhish'

short enough in Ramadhan, but it must be interrupted by the drum, or tom-tom, beaten by the man who goes about, in the small hours of the morning, chanting a summons to the faithful to rise and pray, and take their last meal before making the declaration of fasting for the next day, without which their abstinence would be of no avail as a religious rite.[1] After the meal care should be taken lest any food be left even between the teeth.

During Ramadhan after the evening, or last hour of prayer, twenty additional prostrations, or rak'ahs, should be offered. In Jersualem, these are performed in the Aqsa Mosque, which is brightly illuminated. Between every pair of rak'ahs there is chanting. After the Friday noon prayer, there is formed in the same place a procession of sheikhs, dervishes, and people, who then move toward the alleged tomb of David, or Neby Daûd, chanting, as they go, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God," "God is great," with other sentences. At the shrine they offer prayers, and then have a huge zikr. This function, which in its elementary form consists in the repetition of the divine name alone or in unison, is by no means confined to the dervishes, as is sometimes supposed. Any set of Moslems may come together for a zikr, which is literally "a remembrance."[2] In the Kubbet-es-Sakhra, or Dome of the Rock, there are especial functions through the month of Ramadhan. Under the great dome, whose elaborate arabesques are traced in rich and sombre colors, dimly

or farewell to Ramadhan, which is celebrated in this manner after midnight, on the last three days of the fast. Or it may have been a mow'-lad, or a recital of poetry celebrating the birth and miracles of the prophet, interpolated with singing. The recital may be arranged in fulfilment of a vow (accompanied by a feast), or may be offered by a bridegroom, at any time of the year, but especially in Ramadhan, in a private house or from a minaret.

[1] For words of the chant used among the fellahîn of Palestine, see the article by P. F. Baldensperger, entitled "Orders of Holy Men in Palestine," in "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," 1894, p. 38.

[2] It should be noted, however, that the zikr of the uninitiated, called the zikr of imitation, is not supposed to have the mystical efficacy inherent in the function when performed by the dervishes. See p. 258.

glowing in the molten light that filters in through the jewelled glass studding the windows below, there assemble from noon on those who would study the Koran from the big volumes furnished by the guardians. An hour before the afternoon prayer, sheikhs representing the four great schools of Orthodox or sunnite interpretation, begin to lecture in different parts of the building to groups of followers.[1] In front of the sheikh, who may be seated either on a platform or on the floor, is a pupil, who reads the verse to be interpreted by the master. Women are allowed to listen from behind the grille surrounding the great outcrop of rock, which may have been the site of Abraham's sacrifice. The afternoon prayer is said by each sheikh in the place where he has been lecturing, acting as imam for his disciples. In the meantime the governor and staff may have come in to attend the function of the khat′meh, which follows upon the prayer. Every day one-thirtieth part of the Koran is chanted by paid singers from a platform. Near by, leaning on his staff and holding a big Koran in his lap, sits the imposing figure of the chief guardian, alert to correct in stentorian tones any mistake that may be made. At any mention of prostration, he ponderously gets up, turns to the south, and elaborately prostrates himself, touching the floor with his forehead, followed by the whole company. At the end of the chanting, in which each singer has taken a turn, they all join in the words: "The great God spake truth." On the twenty-seventh day is chanted not only a thirtieth portion, but all that remains, according to the usual procedure with the khatmeh.[2] When the last chapter is finished the guardian

[1] See p. 194, foot-note.

[2] The khatmeh, or recital of the whole Koran, is a common form of entertaining guests. A Jerusalem Moslem tells me that it may be also arranged after a man's death or on some anniversary of the same, by a relative of the deceased, whose soul is supposed to profit in the other world. A sheikh is paid for the reading, the bulk of which he may perform by himself, anywhere he pleases—at home or in the mosque. The reading is completed at the home of the man who employs him, before an invited company, and is varied by chanting. The last twenty-three surahs, or chapters, are read by the guests, each taking his turn till the final one is finished. After each surah they all for-

brings out a small bottle which is said to contain the hairs of the prophet, grasps it firmly, and then, guarded by soldiers, holds it out to the people, who rush up by hundreds to kiss it. So great is the scramble that children are not allowed at the ceremony. This concludes the especial services for the month in the Dome of the Rock, or so-called Mosque of ʿOmar.

As the afternoon of the last day of the fast draws to a close you may see the faithful peering anxiously up to the western sky for a glimpse of the new moon, whose appearance must be reported before the feast can be inaugurated. This is the ʿÎd-el-Futr, the Feast of Breaking the Fast, or ʿÎd-ez-Zaghîr, the Small Feast, so called in contrast to the Great Feast, or ʿÎd-el-Az′ha, which coincides with the great sacrifice at Mecca at the time of pilgrimage. Joy at having completed the fast is shown in many ways. In the mosques there are especial prayers and preaching. Men, women, and children put on new clothes. In the public places the young folk whirl in merry-go-rounds or are drawn about in boats placed on wheels. At this season the dead are remembered in extended visits to the cemeteries, which in the cities are crowded with shrouded and veiled women. Almsgiving is also especially recommended and practised.

This, however, is not that legal alms (zakat′) which constitutes the fourth pillar of religion, but rather the voluntary charity (sa′daqah) which, in the East, brings the benevolent person so much credit and popularity. In Syria and Palestine to be "karîm," or generous, indeed covers a multitude of sins. However, the system of legal alms doubtless has its roots in the voluntary charitable impulse, which finds a beautiful expression in the hospitality for which followers of every cult in the near East are so famous. The root-meaning of the word zakat—purification—indicates the subjective blessings of giving, for the reference is to the sanctification of the remainder to the proprietor after he

mally give him the right to transfer the reading to the benefit of the dead. Then he pronounces out loud the transfer of the reading to Mohammed and the other prophets, and afterward, in a whisper, the transfer to the dead man. The analogy in general with masses for the dead is naturally suggested.

has parted with a portion of his goods in alms. It is a sort of religious income tax levied on the kinds of property which were owned in the half-pastoral land of Arabia in the seventh century: camels, cattle, sheep and goats, horses, silver, gold, merchandise, mines, and fruits of the earth. It may be bestowed upon seven classes: the utterly destitute, those too poor to be taxed, the tax-gatherers, slaves, debtors, those engaged in religious warfare, and wayfarers. The tax rate, which in some cases is to be paid in kind, varies not only with the character but with the amount of property. Fruits of the earth, with some exceptions covering conditions of production as well as definitely named kinds, are taxed one-tenth. It is estimated that the rate averages at one-fortieth of the total income. The zakat may be paid into the hands of official collectors (still found in some Mohammedan countries), but it is lawful for the possessor to distribute his alms for himself. The regulations governing zakat, based upon the practice of Mohammed, show a complexity of detail that is rivalled only by a modern tariff bill. No Moslem adult, provided he is free and sane, is exempt, provided he is in possession of a fixed minimum of taxable property, and provided that his debts are not equal to the amount of his estate. Zakat is not due upon the necessaries of life, such as dwelling-houses, clothing, furniture, slaves employed as actual servants, etc. The following details, taken at random, may be cited by way of examples of the ramification of the law. No zakat is due upon less than five camels, or thirty cattle, or forty sheep; upon any number of camels from ninety-one to one hundred and twenty are levied two camels' female three-year-old colts; rates between are particularized with the same exactitude. Above one hundred and twenty camels the zakat is calculated by the same rule.[1] Unlike a modern tariff bill these regulations have not been subject to revision. The conscientious Mohammedan of the new régime in Turkey, who may own shares in an electric-light company, when puzzling over his religious duties in regard to the same, will naturally find no positive directions in the traditions of the prophet!

[1] See Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," article "Zakat."

IV. Pilgrimage

Hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca, the religious centre of Islam, is for its votaries the fifth pillar of religion. "This annual gathering," says President Washburn, "really constitutes something like a pan-Islamic congress, where all the interests of the faith are discussed at length by representatives of different countries, and where plans are made for its defence and propagation." [1] Pilgrimage is incumbent on all who are able to perform it, but the Moslem doctors differ as to what constitutes ability. Among the conditions named are soundness of mind, maturity, health, solvency, and safety of the roads. Women should be properly escorted or chaperoned. A very large proportion of Moslems arrive at old age before all these conditions appear to be fulfilled. A Jerusalem sheikh estimates that only ten per cent of his townsmen who have passed middle-age have made the pilgrimage. The same man informed me that the hajj may be made by proxy in case of a man prevented himself by sickness or age. He may send his proxy during his lifetime or arrange for the matter in his will.

This ordinance of the hajj long antedates the rise of Islam. So firmly fixed in the hearts of the Arabs were many of the customs in connection with the worship of the Black Stone of the Ka'aba, that Mohammed decided to retain them in as pure a form as was possible. Idols of the temple were swept away; the veneration of the stone was retained. Whether this decision is to be regarded as a compromise with idolatry, or as a wise concession in matters of secondary importance, in the interests of the consolidation of the followers of the purer faith, depends on the point of view. A certain parallel exists in the codification of the religion of Israel, when many practices common to all Semitic religions were permitted, provided that they were purified from every taint of polytheism.

[1] See his article, entitled "The Probable Influence of the Turkish Revolution on the Faith of Islam," in "Journal of Race Development," January, 1911, p. 303.

The formal declaration of performing the pilgrimage, or ḣajj—essential to make the rite effective, as in the cases of prayer and fasting—may be made as early as Shawwal′, or the tenth month, though the Meccan rites do not take place till the twelfth month, known as the Dhu-el-Ḣij′jah. Till recently there have been three ways of getting to Mecca from Syria. The most arduous and expensive method used to follow the caravan of the maḣ′mal, or royal litter, which used to leave Damascus with an often-described pomp, soon after the Small Feast. Once when travelling across the treeless highlands to the east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, I came across this route of the ḣajj—over one hundred and fifty camel-paths, now closely parallel, now running into each other. Here was an appeal to the imagination! It was easy to people these desolate tracks with a vast multitude, moving toward the south with the gladness of anticipation, tinged with apprehension of the dangers of attack from the Bedawîn, who have ever regarded the pilgrims as their proper prey; and later, with broken ranks, moving toward the north with the sadness of those who have left their dead in some strange land or perchance in some wayside grave.

This caravan route was abandoned in 1908, when the railway reached Medinah. This enterprise, conceived by the infamous 'Izzet Pacha, is the only claim to public spirit which that evil genius of the old régime can make. Of the four million Turkish pounds which he was responsible for collecting, he is said to have appropriated nothing for himself. This large sum was realized in the form of direct gifts from the faithful over all the world of Islam, especial stamps to be affixed by Moslems to certain legal documents, and levies on the salaries of Turkish officials, who at first were expected to subscribe one month's salary. The distance from Damascus to Medinah is 1301.5 kilometres, or about 813 miles. The charge is twenty paras a kilometre first class and ten paras second class (about two cents and one cent respectively), with an additional ten francs (or two dollars) for each through passenger, to be paid to the Arabs by the railway company in lieu of the bakshish, or blackmail, they

used to get from the caravan. These sons of the desert still occasionally express their resentment at the invasion of their territory by tearing up the rails. While the work was proceeding it was unsafe for the engineers to wander half a mile from the line. "I was able to explore farther afield than the rest," said to me a Moslem engineer bearing a name famous in early Arab history, who was employed during the whole period of construction, "because of the respect for my family name, but I took my life in my hand all the time." To push the railway over the 250 miles between Medinah and Mecca will furnish a still more difficult problem, as the Arab cameleers who for centuries have conducted pilgrims between the two holy cities, will not submit quietly to the cutting off of their means of livelihood. The first year of railway traffic, however, must have been a jubilee season to them, for it brought to Medinah some fifteen thousand pilgrims (transported in ten trains a day for a week or more), as over against seven thousand or eight thousand who formerly joined the caravan. Non-Moslem travellers may journey as far as Ma'an, on their way to Petra, but Medinah remains as inaccessible to them as it was before the extension of the railway. In fact all railway employees, at least beyond Ma'an, must be Moslems. Many pilgrims who went last year by train returned by sea from the port of Jeddah. This Red Sea route is still the most popular for the double journey.

On every route there is arranged a halt at the last station before Mecca where the pilgrim's garb should be assumed: for the man, two sheets of white cotton cloth, sometimes fringed and striped with red; one to be thrown over the back, leaving one arm and shoulder bare, the other to be wrapped about the loins, falling over the legs. Sandals may be worn, but not shoes. The head must be shaved and then kept uncovered during the pilgrimage. The woman is shrouded in a great sheet, much like her ordinary outer covering, but in place of the veil is a hideous mask, made of dried palm-leaves with two holes for the eyes. To the higher-class Moslem, trained in the dignified traditions of Islam, accustomed to the simple and stately ritual of

the mosque, seeing under the elaborate ceremonial of ablution and purification a sane law of hygiene, holding the ecstasies and professed miracles of the dervishes to be a blot on religion, the week or ten days which he must spend in or near Mecca, in the performance of the requirements of pilgrimage—rites so trivial, so undignified, so revolting to good taste that Palgrave may well speak of them as "a strange, unmeaning shroud around the living theism of Islam"—these must bring in their train little but disillusion and disgust. On entering Mecca, after drinking of the nauseous water of the well Zem-Zem, which was discovered to Hagar by the angel, he must perform the tawaf′, or sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka‘aba. This cubical structure, called the Beit Al′lah, or House of God, to be described later, rises in the centre of the court-yard of the Great Mosque, or Mas′jid-el-Haram′. Four times he must walk around slowly, and four times at a trot, unless the order is reversed, as was done by Burton, who followed the instructions of his cicerone.[1] It is also expected of the pilgrim that he repeat certain ordained prayers at different stations of the route, and that he fervently press his body against the Ka‘aba, and kiss the Sacred Black Stone at the south-east corner. On the same day he should perform the sai, or sevenfold traversal of the distance between the little hills dignified by the name of the mountains of Sa′fa and Mer′-wah. For part of each course he must run and for part he must walk, to show, so some say, the bewilderment felt by Hagar when in search of water.

These rites are but preliminary to the real ḥajj, which

[1] Our account mainly follows Burton's personal experiences, in 1853, during his famous visit to the sacred cities, in the disguise of a Moslem. See the memorial edition of his work: "Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah," by Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, two volumes. (London, 1893.) Very few Christians have visited Mecca, and then only in disguise, at the risk of discovery and death. The Spanish Christian, Badia y Leblich, preserved his disguise even in his book, entitled: "The Travels of Ali Bey el Abbassi in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey between the Years 1803 and 1807." (London and Philadelphia, 1816.) Burckhardt's careful observations were made in 1814.

covers only three days—the eighth, ninth, and tenth of Dhu-el-Hijjah. Accordingly, early on the eighth of the month the pilgrim starts on his twelve-mile journey to the Mount of Blessing, or Mount 'Arafat, famed for the reunion of Adam and Eve, who had been separated on their expulsion from paradise. As practically the whole local population joins the procession, the real hajj might well be called a pilgrimage *from* Mecca; indeed, the main features occur at 'Arafat and at Mû'na, or Mî'na, which is three miles from the sacred city. The hill itself is about two hundred feet high, and about one mile in circumference at its base. Burton relates that when the pilgrims entered the precincts of the plain of 'Arafat, in sight of the holy hill, they broke out, all together, into the pilgrim's cry, constantly raised during these days, "Labbayk', Allahum'ma, Labbayk'!"

> "Here am I! Here am I—
> No partner hast Thou, here am I;
> Verily the praise and the grace are Thine, and the empire—
> No partner hast Thou, here am I!"

The night of this first day—the Yaum-et-Tarwi'hah—may be spent either near 'Arafat or at Mûna.

The second day of the hajj is called Yaum 'Arafat. The noon and afternoon prayers, condensed and joined together, are said at the Masjid (place of worship) of Abraham on the mountain, and then follows the waquf', or "standing on 'Arafat," where the army of pilgrims from all parts of the Moslem world take their places to listen to the three-hour sermon, preached by the khatîb, who is seated on a dromedary, near the summit of the hill. What an audience! Burton, in 1853, estimated fifty thousand, including some ten thousand Meccans. The estimate for 1880 is ninety-three thousand two hundred and fifty. The favorite position for listening is on the lower slopes, but, of course, such numbers must be spread over the plain. The sermon is punctuated by sobs and cries, and shrieks of "Labbayk," from the vast audience, for it is supposed to be a time for weeping. At sunset begins the terrible "hurry from 'Arafat." It is part of the ceremony to cover the three miles

between the mountain and Muzda'lifah, where the night is to be spent, in the shortest possible time. Riders and pedestrians start off at full speed. The mad rush degenerates into a chaotic confusion, in which pilgrims may be trampled under foot, and even camels are overthrown.

The third day of the ḥajj, called Yaum-el-Nahr, also 'Îd-el-Qurbân,[1] is celebrated over all Islam as the Great Feast, or 'Id-el-Az'ha. In Turkey and Egypt it is popularly known as Bairam. The sacrifices made that day at Mûna commemorate the vicarious sacrifice of Abraham—popularly connected with the name of Ishmael, notwithstanding that the Koran plainly refers to Isaac as the intended victim. The festival prayers, called by Burton "the great solemnity of the Moslem year," are supposed to be performed by the whole community at break of day at Muzdalifah. Here each pilgrim should collect seven pebbles, to be hurled later at the Mûna monument called the Great Devil. Burton reports that the mob of stone-throwers was so densely packed that a man might have walked over their heads. Attempting to get through the crowd of fighting men and rearing horses, he escaped from being trampled only by a "judicious use of the knife." Then may follow the sacrifice of animals—a camel, an ox, a sheep, according to the man's station. The beast's head being turned toward the Ka'aba, the pilgrim usually cuts the throat himself. The sacrifice, however, is not obligatory, being "sunnah," or based on the practice of the prophet, and as a substitute one may fast ten days. In Burton's time hardly more than ten per cent seem to have sacrificed, as he estimated the slaughtered animals at between five and six thousand. The flesh falls to the lot of the poor. On this third day, either before or after the sacrifice, many pilgrims hasten to Mecca—this trip is called the "flight"—for another circumambulation of the Ka'aba, and perhaps a visit to the interior.

According to tradition, many have been the vicissitudes of this Beit Allah, or House of God. The first structure, erected by Adam, from a model existing in heaven, having been destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham with

[1] Qurbân means offering.

the help of Ishmael. To the latter the angel Gabriel gave a stone (originally white, but later made black by the sins of the people) to mark the corner. This is described as an aerolite, some seven inches across, in shape an irregular oval, inserted in the south-east corner of the Ka'aba, four or five feet from the ground. The building itself is a large cube, measuring eighteen paces by fourteen and about thirty-five feet high. The present construction dates from 1627, the previous building having been overthrown by a flood. But this was only one of many reconstructions since the time of Abraham, not the least important taking place when the grandfather of Mohammed was its custodian. The first man to surround it with a mosque was the caliph 'Omar. It is protected by the kis'weh, a huge black covering, a mixture of cotton and silk, interwoven with seven chapters of the Koran, which are legible from a distance. A verse from the book is also found on the golden band which runs around the kisweh. This covering, brought from Cairo by especial caravan, is renewed every year at the time of the ḥajj. There is little to see inside this celebrated building beyond a pretty pavement and some good tapestries, but the guardians are very importunate. Burton, who left seven dollars behind him, was congratulated, when he emerged, on having escaped with his skin. Shut up in the close, windowless room, encircled by the fierce, extortionate Meccans, he had felt like a rat in a trap.

The night of this third day the pilgrim usually spends at Mûna. After the sacrifice, or after the ceremony of stoning, in case he does not sacrifice, he resumes his ordinary dress, and may once more have his hair cut, his head shaved, and his nails pared. The next three days, called Ayyam'-et-Tashrîk', or the days of drying flesh (a horrible commentary on the sanitary conditions after the holocaust), should be spent at Mûna. Each day the pilgrim should throw seven stones at each of the three pillars called devils. Then Mûna, suddenly deserted of its teeming population, resumes its ordinary deserted appearance for another year. Before leaving Mecca the pilgrim drinks once more from the well Zem-Zem, again makes the circumambulation of the Ka'aba, and

bids a formal adieu to the sacred ḥaram. He is forbidden to take away cakes of earth from the dust of the mosque, as the practice is supposed to savor of idolatry. However, it is common among the ignorant, who also take home to their friends water from the Zem-Zem. When word comes to his native town that a pilgrim is returning from Mecca, a large crowd goes out to escort him in with banners and music. When the new ḥajj, or pilgrim, as he is thenceforth called, reaches his home, the following ceremony often takes place: A sheep is stretched outside his door, or even over the threshold, with its head toward Mecca; as the pilgrim steps over it, the animal is killed so that the blood runs between his feet. This sheep may be presented by a friend who has vowed it in case of the pilgrim's safe return. A similar practice is not unknown among Christian peasants on the return of a pilgrim from Jerusalem.[1] Moslems also may practise it in case of a safe return from any journey.

[1] This fact was gathered by Rev. Samuel Ives Curtiss during his last journey. See Preface.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF ISLAM

Introductory Note

Our last chapter furnished abundant illustration of the formalism and rigidity of the religious system of Islam, as expressed in its doctrine and ritual, and as incarnated in its 'ulama, or doctors of the law. These elements were felt in the earliest years, hence in the earliest years was developed sûfiism (tasaw'waf), which in its relations to Islam may be briefly characterized as an attempt to express the spiritual and mystical side of the new religious movement.[1] The principles of sûfiism, however, so far antedate the rise of Islam that their influence may be traced back through the later Alexandrian School to Persia, and finally to their origin in Indian mysticism. As, logically, these principles tend toward pantheism, they would seem to be irreconcilable with the strict monotheism of Islam, but, as has often been pointed out, logical inconsistency does not disturb the Eastern mind as it does the Western. He who would follow sûfiism aims by certain religious practices to attain such a condition of moral purity that he may see God face to face and become united to Him. This, then, is the end of sûfiism, but to this end lead many ways. Indeed, it is by the name of the ways that the religious orders, at least eighty-eight in number, which have sprung from the sûfi idea, are known to their votaries. Agreeing in the same body of principles, they differ in particulars of organization and practice. All acknowledge the ba'raka, or blessing, divine spark trans-

[1] Many derivations have been suggested for the word sûfi, or mystic, but it probably refers to the "sûf," or wool, with which the early followers of the doctrine clothed themselves.

mitted from the founder through unbroken chains of saints, by means of the ward (pronounced ouard), or initiation, and made effective by the discipline of the zikr, or calling upon the name of God, according to various formulas. The followers of the ways, or dervishes,[1] as they are called in Turkey, have the same aim as have the 'ulama, or doctors of the law, to know the will of God, but while the latter expound this will as revealed exclusively in a book, the former strive to find it also in their own hearts when these shall have been purged and purified. It is customary for Western writers to emphasize an antagonism between the two classes. In the nature of things this is bound to exist, but I have not found in Syria and Palestine traces of that bitter enmity which appears, for example, in North Africa and India. The Syrian 'ulama may themselves be dervishes. A recent candidate for the office of mufti in Beyrout, or legal and religious adviser, is the chief local sheikh of the dervish order of the Shazilîyeh, whose doctrines are supposed to verge on pantheism. As far as the ordinary Moslems are concerned, these orders or ways exert a far more vital influence than does the body of 'ulama. "Notwithstanding this hierarchical organization," say Depont and Coppolani, our great authorities on the orders, "the real force of the Mohammedan world lies in a power apart, a mysterious sphere, deriving its almost incredible prestige from an authority whose might differs from that of the 'ulama, since, in the eyes of the believers, it emanates from Divinity itself." [2]

The dervish orders thus trace their origin to the earliest days of Islam. Soon after the Hegira, or flight to Medinah, there were founded by Abu Bekr and 'Ali, respectively, two fraternities, whose members were bound together by vows to hold all things in common and to perform certain religious exercises. A Syrian dervish sheikh explained to me that a community of goods was a practical necessity

[1] The word dervish is derived from a Persian word signifying a mendicant seeking doors.

[2] "Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes, par Octave Depont et Xavier Coppolani," Introduction, ix (Alger, 1897).

arising from the utter destitution of the members who in their flight had left all behind them. Abu Bekr and 'Ali each appointed a successor called a khalî'fy, who in turn passed on the succession. Later on disintegration set in, with a consequent weakening of the organisms, but "the way," or essence of doctrine and practice, was handed on from individual to individual, so that in every period of its history Islam has been permeated with brethren recognizing each other by secret signs and grips. From time to time there arose, among these, great teachers, who by sheer force of personality attracted a band of followers, but with their death these followers usually fell away, becoming merged in the unorganized body of sûfis, or mystics. Reorganization into distinct orders, which continue to be a power to-day, began in the twelfth century with the great 'Abd-el-Qâ'dir-ej-Jilâ'ni.[1] The bodies chiefly represented in Syria and Palestine date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Diplomas accrediting the sheikhs of these orders contain an unbroken chain of names, beginning with the holder, first running back to the founder of the order in the Middle Ages, and then through the earlier centuries to Abu Bekr or to 'Ali. Thus the essential unity of all these orders is acknowledged. They have accordingly been likened to the various sects of Protestantism. Powerful organizations, now prominent in North Africa, have originated in modern times.

I. The Mohammedan Hagiology

On one of its sides the study of the religious orders of Islam is but a small part of the larger study of the saints of Islam. Each founder of a way or order is now regarded as a saint, or we'ly, that is, a friend of God, because, like other great welies each was supposed to have a secret from God.[2]

[1] The principles of organization appear to have originated with Sheikh Alwân who founded the Alwanîyeh in the year 766 A. D., but the order is not counted to-day among the powerful and widely extended fraternities.

[2] Wely is the name applied to a saint after his death.

As welies they have an influence far beyond the limits of their particular followings. These founders of orders do not number one hundred, but the welies in general are countless. Their shrines are scattered over the Mohammedan world. In their cult may be found a very practical modification of the pure monotheism of Islam. Hence a preliminary word about the doctrine of the saints is in place. The hagiology of Islam forms an immense subject. The late Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss found a book in the library of the great mosque in Aleppo giving the names of two hundred and ninety-one saints of that place alone.[1] Shrines are dedicated to the prophets (most of whom also appear in the Jewish and Christian scriptures); to the companions of Mohammed; to the founders of orders; to other characters famous in Moslem history; and finally, to a multitude of holy men, local and obscure, some of whom may have been forgotten Christian saints! For the uneducated Moslem, whether peasant or dweller in the town, the cult of the shrines is as vital as are the five pillars or ordinances of religion: confession of the creed, prayer, fasting, alms, and pilgrimage. For some it would seem to be more vital. "Saints" were often sûfis, or seekers after union with God, but in the cult of their shrines the pure sûfi idea is obscured and distorted. The ʻulama, quoting the example of the caliph ʻOmar, who ordered the felling of a tree under which Mohammed used to meet his followers, lest it become an object of idolatrous veneration, denounce the cult, which is built on the practice of making and paying vows to welies. Vows, they teach, should be paid to God alone. The more intelligent of the common people justify the cult on the ground that while the vows are made to God, these may be paid at some particular shrine whose wely is especially beloved of God. The cult, indeed, exalts holiness. The object, however, is not to secure personal holiness by direct communion with God, but to turn to personal account the holiness of the wely. The cult of saints has much the

[1] Other valuable information contained in this section comes from the journals of Dr. Curtiss, some of which are now used for the first time. See Preface.

same history in every religion. The ignorant Moslems vow to the wely directly, in the belief that he may turn from them some evil directed against them by God himself. In any case the welies are sought in time of trouble. If there were no trouble, so naïvely argues the peasant, there would be no need of the welies. To the shrines flock barren women, yearning for children, and there are brought the sick, the paralytic, and the possessed or insane to receive direct benefit from the holy influence of the welies whose spirits are supposed to inhabit the shrines. So deeply imbedded is the cult that, notwithstanding the teaching of the 'ulama, shrines are even found connected with mosques, sometimes occupying the chief place. Even at the great mosque at Damascus, where the three shrines are subsidiary, people fulfil their vows of sheep by slaughtering these at the north side of the court around the pool. Official Islam recognizes sacrifices on but two occasions: first on the third day of the Mecca pilgrimage, when bloody sacrifices commemorative of Abraham's consent to offer up his son are permitted, not only at Mûna, but all through the Mohammedan world;[1] and, in the second place, on the birth of a child, when it is incumbent on the parent to offer a dedicatory and eucharistic animal sacrifice. Sacrifices, however, play an important though unauthorized rôle in the payment of vows at shrines. The placing of the blood upon the forehead of the one on behalf of whom the vow is made, indicating to Dr. Curtiss a substitutionary character lacking in the above instances, appears to be confined, as a rule, to the rural districts; the "sacrifices" in the towns taking more the form of alms given to the poor.[2]

[1] See p. 222.

[2] The latest note-books of Dr. Curtiss contain additional material touching on these questions, which he did not live to systematize. The whole subject of "sacrifice" in Arabic-speaking lands is complicated by the fact that the same verb ذبح is used both for ceremonial killing and for the ordinary killing of animals by the butcher; and that the same noun ذبيحة is used for an animal killed for food and for a slain offering. In lands where meat does not form part of the daily

But bloody sacrifices are only a small part of the system of vows which includes not only products of the earth, costly handkerchiefs and carpets, but the promising of girls to the descendant of some noted saint. One powerful wely, Sîdna 'Ali, near Jaffa, is reputed to be able to attract to himself votive offerings of grapes, wheat, or bread, thus saving the trouble of a journey to the one vowing![1]

Materially considered, the shrines are of many kinds, ranging from a rude circle of stones around an ordinary flat grave, under an oak tree, to a costly mausoleum with one or more domes. It should not be necessary to emphasize the fact that while the cult is contrary to a strict interpretation of the Koran, it does not tolerate any semblance of an image. Within a built shrine are to be found only a mihrâb, or prayer-niche, directed toward the south, a lamp or lamps, and often a pitcher of water for the pilgrim. Visitors often tie rags on the window of the building, or even on a tree, merely in memory of their visit. Sometimes the shrines are unguarded, though the power of the wely prevents the theft of votive offerings. But each important shrine has its servant; the more important may have several. Among the

diet any event of importance—such as a circumcision, a wedding, the arrival of a guest, the building of a house, a meeting for reconciliation, the return of pilgrims, the payment of vows, even in modern times the opening of a railway—is especially signalized by a "killing." In some instances the ceremonial or religious element in the act clearly predominates; in others a purely utilitarian or social element obtains; in still others the two elements appear to be held in balance; while in a large number of cases it requires delicate discrimination on the part of the investigator to decide whether the ceremonial element enters at all into the consciousnness of the one "killing." The whole subject still awaits further study. Dr. Curtiss, in his "Primitive Semitic Religion To-day," does not appear to have fully realized the utilitarian use of the word.

[1] See article entitled "Orders of Holy Men in Palestine," pp. 22–38, by P. J. Baldensperger, found in the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1894"; this citation is from p. 33. The whole article is a storehouse of practical information regarding our subject, based on intimate personal experience, as the author was born in Palestine and lived among the fellaḥîn. The material, though not well systematized, is of the highest value.

duties are the lighting of the lamp on Thursdays and the reception of pilgrims. Sometimes the office is hereditary, and may be in the line of the wely's own family. In any case it is profitable, for the servant has a share in the vowed sacrifices and other votive offerings. Well known to Syrian folk-lore is the story satirizing the holders of this office, as well as the easy manufacture of new saints. The servant of a popular shrine sent his attendant off to seek his fortune with a few provisions and a donkey. The young man lost his way, his food gave out, his donkey died and was buried in the sand. While he was lamenting, the leader of a passing caravan demanded the cause of his grief. "It is that I have no means wherewithal to build a tomb over the grave of a great saint that I have just discovered." Much moved, the caravan leader left a generous gift. Thus encouraged, the youth repeated his tale with such substantial results that he was enabled to erect a handsome shrine. Many years after, to this wely, now become rich and famous, travelled the former master, who, unexpectedly recognizing his old servant, begged for the truth as to the origin of this mysterious saint. Under seal of confidence this was revealed. "But," added the servant of the new shrine, "confidence for confidence, tell me now, O master, what was the origin of the saint at thy shrine?" The old sheikh stroked his beard for a moment, and then answered: "Wullah! It was the father of thy donkey!"

The term wely is used not only for the dead saint, but for his place of burial or commemoration. Like the Christian monasteries, the Moslem shrines often dominate the landscape. Some of them with a reputation as wide as the Moslem world attract pilgrims from distant lands. Some radiate their influence over a limited area, where, indeed, they are supreme. When encamped near the shrine of the Falûjy, in southern Palestine, I found that my local workmen, who thought little of forswearing themselves by the Almighty, would tell the truth if conjured by the Falûjy. In case of theft, suspects were cross-examined at his shrine as it was believed he would cause to spit blood those who denied their guilt. For the welies are considered as persons still living,

and, on occasion, mingling with men. The personality of the Khudr, the Ever-Living One, of whose synthesis with Elijah and Saint George we have spoken before,[1] may be said to permeate the Holy Land. Sometimes the welies hold direct communication with the living. Baldensperger tells of a certain Sheikh ‘Othman, who at the command of the Sultan Bedr, his long-dead ancestor, natural as well as spiritual, remained dumb for a number of years, in order that he might keep from sin, refusing to utter a word till the saint withdrew the injunction.[2] Sometimes the welies take strange incarnations. The same writer relates another curious story of Sultan Bedr. "When Ibrahim Pasha was ruler of Palestine, he took away many lands belonging to welies and such holy men, but when he sent soldiers to take Deir-esh-Sheikh, a swarm of bees kept them back. Then they knew that these bees were no other than Sultan Bedr defending his abode." [3]

We have already pointed out how intimately the subjects of the religious orders and of the shrines interpenetrate. Both belong to the same world of miracle and magic, as real to the peasant as the veritable, material earth. The Khudr to whom there are raised in Syria and Palestine more shrines than to any other wely, is said to impart the baraka, or miraculous power, to founders of the orders. The folk-lore of the land abounds in tales of these, especially of ‘Abd-el-Qâdir ej-Jilâni, Ahmed er-Refa‘i, Ahmed el-Bedawy, and Ibrahim ed-Dusuki, whose names are attached to the orders respectively founded by each, and who are linked together as the four poles, living on the four sides of the earth, which they uphold. They are also likened to four trees, the rest of the welies being mere branches. Of them pre-existence is predicated. Though born in the Middle Ages, they are said to have lived in the spirit before Mohammed. The tombs of all founders are most important shrines, not only for the members of the orders, but for all who are in trouble. The most notable is the tomb of ‘Abd-el-Qâdir ej-Jilâni, in Baghdad, but Syria, too, possesses the shrine of a popular founder.

[1] See p. 10.
[2] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 35. [3] *Ibid.*

At Jeba, a few miles north of Damascus, is the tomb of Sa'ad-ed-Dîn, the founder of the Sa'adiyeh order of dervishes, a derivative of the Qadirîyeh, and known also as the Jabawîyeh. The village and its environs, being the property of this wely, are free from taxation, and its men, who are mainly descendants of the saint, are free from military service by imperial order. Indeed, 'Abd-el-Ḥamîd is said to have contributed five hundred pounds for the repair of the maqâm, or shrine. The saint's influence still controls the vicinity. The houses need no doors. Cattle may wander at will, so the servant told Dr. Curtiss, and should a thief dare to touch one of the herd, he would be turned into a swine, or some other animal, while the cow would return to the shrine.[1] Any one calling on Sa'ad-ed-Dîn, no matter where he may be, on land or sea, no matter to what race or religion he may belong, will get help and succor.

A similar belief is attached to the four poles who to this very day are said to appear among men, for help or for taking vengeance, as surely in their waking as in their sleeping hours. Sometimes the two rôles may be combined in one. Two Copts in Egypt, so a Jerusalem dervish told me, tired of toiling for a living, assumed the red turban of the Bedawîyeh dervishes, and started forth on a tour of the Moslem villages where their Christian origin was not known, confident that the simple fellahîn would without question serve them with the best of the land, in recognition of their holiness. At nightfall they came to a prosperous-looking village. As soon as their presence was known, the peasants vied with each other in bringing forth food, but the two Copts were told that before claiming the rights of dervishes to this common hospitality they must prove these by jumping into a great fire of logs and coals glowing in the open place of assembly. Were they, in truth, dervishes, they must surely come forth unharmed; so, if they would eat, into the fire first! The pseudo-dervishes exchanged a glance, turned to the people, and asked if they might go apart for a moment. Obtaining their wish, they withdrew out of sight, tucked up their garments, and ran for their lives.

[1] Compare I Samuel 7 : 12.

Then, great and terrible, loomed in their path Sheikh Ahmed er-Refa'i, dead for centuries, but still lord of those who may tread on fire and eat live coal without harm, prompt to avenge the insult done to his fellow-sheikh, Ahmed el-Bedawy, whose disciples these lying Christians claimed to be. "Go back," he said, "and do what the people tell you!" Blinded by the double terror, the two Copts stumbled back to the open place, and leaped among the coals, never doubting that they would horribly perish. But lo! they came out unscathed, and the people, abundantly convinced of their dervishhood, not only pressed upon them the gathered food, but brought forth sheep and donkeys as presents to the holy men. These went on their way, reflecting. In what better way could they show their gratitude to the Refa'i, whose mercy had averted a just punishment, than by professing in truth the faith which they had mocked? And so they became Moslems.

It is important to note that all such tales implicitly recognize the subordination of the miraculous powers of the welies to the one God, who may see fit to render them infallible. A dervish told me that his great founder, 'Abd-el-Qâdir himself, whose name means Servant of the All-Powerful, once was asked by a woman with child whether she had conceived a boy or a girl. At once he declared that he had miraculous, tangible proof that it was a boy. When, later, it was told the sheikh that the woman had brought forth a girl, he said: "The Power of the All-Powerful has conquered the Servant of the All-Powerful!"

II. The Dervish Organization

Of the eighty-eight religious orders of Islam, at least nine have representation in Syria and Palestine.[1] The followers of the Qadirî'yeh, Refa'î'yeh, Bedawî'yeh, Dusuqî'yeh and Sa'adî'yeh, all closely allied, are by far the most nu-

[1] See "Marabouts et Khouan," pp. 26–51, by Louis Rinn (Alger, 1884). He gives the names and founders of eighty-eight orders. Some of these are offshoots or derived orders. A Syrian dervish sheikh estimated the number of orders at forty-four.

merous, being found, in Palestine proper, almost to the exclusion of all other orders.[1] Sheikhs may belong to four of these orders at once, a privilege not usually accorded to the lay-followers. Members of any one order are admitted to the meetings of any other. They may have a za′wiyeh, or dervish house, in common. The Qadirî′yeh, founded by Sheikh ‘Abd-el-Qâ′dir ej-Jila′ni or Keila′ni, a sherîf or descendant of the prophet (died at Baghdad, 1165 A. D.), is the parent order (Tarî′qa-el-usûl′). His natural descendants (who may or may not become members of the order by initiation) have special privileges to-day, such as exemption from military service. Members of the wealthy Keilani family of Damascus and Hamath show high breeding and polished manners. As with other sherîfian orders, whose founders were of the family of Mohammed, a certain prestige attaches to the initiated members also.

The Refa‘î′yeh and the Sa‘adî′yeh are derivatives of the Qadirî′yeh (Turuq′ el furu′‘a), the former founded by Ah′med er-Refa′‘i (died at Bosrah, 1182 A. D.), nephew of ‘Abd-el-Qâdir, and the latter, also called Jebawî′yeh, by Sa‘ad-ed-Dîn ed-Je′bawi (died at Je′ba, 1335 A. D.). Lane regards the Sa‘adîyeh as a sub-sect of the Refa‘îyeh; Baldensperger does not use the distinctive name but appears to refer to members of the Sa‘adîyeh when speaking in general of the Refa‘îyeh. Descendants of Sheikh Ahmed er-Refa‘i, bearing also the name of Refa‘îyeh, which thus signifies a natural as well as a spiritual descent, are scattered all over the land. The family is said to include some tribes of the Arabs. Some fifty years ago, Abu-el-Hu′da, chief of the order at Constantinople, obtained an imperial permit freeing them from military service. Such exemption is also accorded to the family of the Sa‘adîyeh, who form the population of the village of Jeba where their ancestor and founder of the order was buried. The Bedawîyeh, founded by Ah′med el-Be′dawi, who is said to have been a celibate[2]

[1] Baldensperger (see his article, *op. cit.*) recognizes no other orders in Palestine proper. As to the close connection between these orders the reader is referred to the remarks on the four poles, p. 232.

[2] Notwithstanding this fact, Baldensperger asserts that he is supposed to be indulgent toward adulterers. (See his article, *op. cit.*, p. 32.)

(died at Tantah, Egypt, 1276, A. D.), and the Dusuqî'yeh, founded by Ib'rahîm ed-Dusu'qi (died at Dusuq, Egypt, 1278, A. D.), follow ecstatic principles similar to those of the mother order of the Qadirîyeh. Each order is signalized by a cap and banner of a distinctive color.

Such are the most popular orders in Syria and Palestine, having the greatest following among the multitude. Next in importance comes the order of the Mowlawî'yeh, or so-called whirling dervishes, founded by Jelal' ed-Dîn, Mowla'wa (died Ko'niah, 1273 A. D.), with houses at Aleppo, Damascus, Hums, and Tripoli. This order, most popular in Asia Minor, appears to have no influence in Palestine proper. The same may be said of the order of the Shazilî'yeh, which occupies, as we shall see, a unique place among dervish fraternities. The spiritual appeal of mystic doctrine which they make is very different from the thaumaturgic appeal of signs and wonders, which accredit the ordinary dervish with the peasantry. Their founder was Abu Ha'san esh-Sha'zili (died at Mecca, 1258 A. D.). The Kalandarî'yeh (offshoot of the Bakhtashî'yeh or Baghdashî'yeh, founded by the Haji Bakhtash', died 1357) have an establishment in Aleppo, where celibacy is practised. Finally, at Damascus, under a sheikh of their own, recognized or at least tolerated by the Turkish authorities, may be found a few secret followers of the famous North African order, the Senusî'yeh, founded in 1835 by Mohammed ibn-Senu'si (died, Jerabub, in the Libyan Desert, 1859). Each of these orders is connected by the "chain of succession" (sil'sileh), as proved by the diploma (sa'nad) of the sheikhs, with the original society founded by 'Ali, son-in-law of the prophet; except the Kalandarî'yeh which derives from that of Abu Bekr, his father-in-law.

All general statements regarding the organization of the orders should be prefaced by the caution that these do not necessarily hold true for any given branch of any given order, in any given place, at the present time. Organization, perfected when the order was founded, has always shown the tendency to disintegrate. The closer in time an order is to its founder the more perfect will be its organization. Thus the order the most rigidly organized to-day is

that of the Senusîyeh, established only seventy-five years ago in North Africa. It, however, was the result of a split in the order of Khudirî′yeh, founded a century and a quarter before. Most of the orders represented in Syria and Palestine to-day date from the Middle Ages. The notable lack of cohesion now apparent among the branches existing in these lands, including those of the mother order of the Qadirîyeh, by no means represents the theory of organization actually put in practice when the orders were established, and still prevailing, though in limited way, in the branches of the Qadirîyeh found in North Africa.

With this caution in mind, we may now set forth the principles and facts at the basis of all the dervish orders.[1] At the head of the order is the sheikh, usually resident at the mother za′wiyeh, or monastery, built near the tomb of the founder, of whom, according to the rules of many orders, he is a direct descendant according to the flesh. The sheikh is the grand master of the order, a veritable pontiff; its spiritual and temporal director; inheritor of the baraka, or blessing, imparted to the founder by the Almighty; distributor of this, through initiation, to others; having a perfect knowledge of the law of God; exercising the gift of miracles; and claiming absolute obedience from all his followers. Theoretically, he alone is entitled to the name of sheikh, but in most of the orders this is accorded by courtesy and usage to all his subordinates, however humble, who, as his representatives, admit to initiation. Among the Qadirîyeh and allied orders these representatives are divided into two ranks: a member of the higher rank is called khalî′fy (successor, deputy, vicar), who controls the muqud′dims (prepositi) placed under him, and thus constituting a lower rank.[2] In other orders the title of muquddim alone ob-

[1] See the invaluable work of Depont and Coppolani, "Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes, pp. 193 *ff.* (Alger, 1897); "The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism," pp. 191 *ff.*, by J. P. Brown (London, 1868). Compare "The Religious Orders of Islam," by E. Sell, of Madras. This appeared originally as an article in his "Essays on Islam" (1901), but was republished separately with additions in 1908.

[2] Khalî′fah (خليفة) is derived from the word khalf (خلف), which means "behind," and thus signifies a successor or the one left behind.

tains. From the mother zawiyeh go forth khalifies, or muquddims, or both, to organize and preside over branch establishments, either in the same country, or in distant lands. Once or twice a year the sheikh issues pastoral letters summoning his subordinates to a council or assembly (had′rat), where reports are made of the temporal and spiritual condition of each zawiyeh. In orders where the office of sheikh is not hereditary, the business of the assembly may include the election of one of the members, noted for his ability and piety, as successor to the head of the order, deceased, though in some cases the sheikh may already have named his own successor in agreement with his followers. And, finally, we have the mass of adepts, who may be called the laymen of the order, as they have not the power of ordination or of initiation, though through initiation they may derive a share of the miraculous powers transmitted to their initiators from the central source. These adepts, who are variously called dervishes, brethren, companions, or servants, fall into two classes: first, those who follow the ascetic life, either domiciled in the zawiyehs (monasteries) or wandering as begging "faqirs";[1] and, second, those who live in the world, like the tertiaries organized by the Franciscans, carrying on their ordinary occupation, be it farming or trade, but attending the meetings and observing certain rites of the order. These form by far the larger class in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine.[1] Even initiating sheikhs of the humbler class may, in these lands, earn their living by

The term khalîfah is relative. The sultan is regarded as the khalîfah (caliph), or successor to the prophet. The head of a dervish house is a khalîfah with reference to his (sometimes hypothetical) superior. His under-sheikhs are khalîfahs with reference to him. The word khalf also gives us the verb khallaf (خلّف), signifying to leave behind, and thus to bear, to beget. This verb is applied to the sheikh, or khalîfah, to describe his act of investing deputies or successors, begetting them in the spiritual sense. It is to be noted that in this chapter we transliterate from the popular pronunciation of the word which in Syria and Palestine is sounded khalî′fy.

[1] The primitive meanings of the words "faqîr′" (فقير) and "fu′-qur" (فقر) are "poor" and "poverty." Baldensperger uses the latter also in a secondary sense, as "scenes of fuqur," referring to dervish demonstrations of Thursdays. (See his article, *op. cit.*, p. 34.)

following a trade. Baldensperger, who writes of the orders in Palestine from intimate personal observation, refers to members of this class as "unrecognized dervishes," in contrast with the faqirs, whom he describes as "active" or "wandering" dervishes, who take the vow of poverty, let their hair grow, and assume the cap and spear of their lord, that is, of the founder of the order. Some dervishes, he says, become "active" immediately on initiation, but the majority take up the life of mendicancy after having lived as unrecognized dervishes for years. It is possible to revert to a secular life but this is not common.[1] We have spoken thus far of all members of the orders in the masculine gender, but it should be emphasized that the benefits of the orders are accorded to women, who may even aspire to the rank of muqud'dim. Examples of female dervishes in Palestine have come to my notice, though I understand they are rare.

Such is the dervish organization—comparable in its concatenation to the monastic system of Western Christianity—that was put in practice by the founders of the orders still represented in Syria and Palestine.[2] How it has come about that few traces of this elaborate, closely knit system of control are to be found among the dervishes living in these lands to-day may be explained by a brief review of the history of the Qadirîyeh, the mother order of the most influential group. The founder of the order, 'Abd-el-Qâdir ej-Jilani, was buried, as we have noted, at Baghdad in 1165. Here continues to be the residence of the direct successor and representative of the founder, whose succession must now be confirmed by the Sultan of Turkey, where the order is most popular, with some twenty dervish houses in Constantinople. In course of centuries, secondary establishments spread over the world of Islam, presided over by khalîfies and muquddims, who, in the early years of a given establishment, rendered allegiance to the sheikh at Baghdad. As time went on, however, each large establishment

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] The orders of Islam are comparable not only to the monastic but to the masonic system.

became itself the centre of a group of smaller houses, and finally, ceased to recognize in any practical manner the authority of the sheikh at Baghdad, though, theoretically, his supremacy has remained unquestioned. Thus, in general, all financial obligation has ceased to be felt, though the shrine of ‘Abd-el-Qâdir has ever continued to attract crowds of pilgrims whose voluntary gifts add greatly to its revenues.[1] Secondary groups, thus formed, still flourish in parts of North Africa. In Algeria and Tunisia, for example, there are three important monasteries, independent not only of the mother zawiyeh, but of each other. One monastery exercises influence over the north-eastern region of Tunisia with three smaller zawiyehs in subjection to it. The muquddim of the central establishment, himself acknowledging no authority, claims from his sub-sheikhs the allegiance he theoretically owes to the sheikh at Baghdad. The complete alienation from the mother zawiyeh is illustrated at the monastery of Nef′ta by the use of a zikr (form of worship) unlike that of Baghdad. In Morocco the order has a number of monasteries which are quite unco-ordinated.[2] And for a final example of disintegration we are brought back to the lands which form the subject of our study—to Syria and to Palestine. Scattered through these lands are many focal points of dervish life, bound, indeed, by a union of doctrine and practice but bound by no permanent organic union. The last general assembly or council of the Qadirîyeh was held, so I have been told, some two hundred years ago. A similar lack of cohesion is to be found in general in the allied orders, the Refa‘îyeh, Sa‘adîyeh, Bedawîyeh, and Dusukîyeh, as well as in the Shazilîyeh. Baldensperger, however, gives an instance showing that among the Dusukîyeh there is still a trace of a former allegiance to a central authority. In Kuryet-el-‘Anab, near Jerusalem, there is a family in which the office of sheikh in the order of the Dusukîyeh is hereditary. When the sheikh died in 1891,

[1] The immense sums sent annually from India, though voluntary, appear to be regarded as a moral obligation. (See Depont and Coppolani, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–300.)

[2] See Depont and Coppolani (*op. cit.*), pp. 305–316.

his son of fourteen years refused investiture at the hands of the mukhtar, or mayor, on the ground that he was an inferior, but with his own hands bound the sheikh's turban half-way around his head, leaving the other half hanging down, declaring that when he was old enough he would go to Dusuk, in Egypt (where the founder is buried), and there receive proper investiture from his own superior khalify![1]

We have just used the term "no permanent organic union." Temporary organic union, as applied to districts, there may be under the authority of the mur'shid, that is, the guide or director. This sort of union long antedated the organization of the orders in the twelfth century. The murshid of to-day is a reversion to a Semitic type, which created the schools of the prophets and reappeared in the early days of Islam. Then great teachers arose, possessing qualities of leadership, who attracted bands of followers. "Such teaching saints," says Macdonald, speaking of the ante-crusading period, "came and went, and with their death their circle of disciples broke up. The unit of organization was still the teacher and for his life only."[2] Here is a description, applying equally to the modern murshid, whose influence is circumscribed locally, and is purely personal, being after the order of Melchizedek, without father and without descent. From time to time there arises a sheikh of extraordinary piety or ability, or both, attracting by sheer force of personality the dervishes of the surrounding country, who instinctively acknowledge his God-given authority, yielding him perfect obedience. Thus, within a given order several murshids may coexist, controlling different groups. Moreover, such authority may extend over several orders. The celebrated Abu Rabah', one of the notables of Jaffa, who has only recently died, was sheikh of the four principal orders, controlling their votaries, sheikhs and laymen as far south as Gaza, "like a general in the army," so a poor sheikh of the Qadirîyeh told me. He might assemble these at Jaffa, when the occasion arose, for general business, or he might

[1] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 33.

[2] "The Religious Life and Attitude in Islam," p. 161, by D. B. Macdonald (1909).

at any time command the presence of two dervishes to settle a dispute between them. At his death, Jaffa ceased to be a centre of dervish power. His little son will probably succeed him as sheikh, but no power of natural heredity can make him a murshid.

If genuine piety be a requisite for a murshid, the late Abu-'l-Huda, prominent among the members of 'Abd-el-Ḥamîd's famous or rather infamous camarilla could hardly lay claim to the title. His rise, however, from the state of a poor, wandering dervish to a position of such authority over the Refa'îyeh of Turkey that he has been called their supreme sheikh was due to the possession of certain dynamic qualities that alone make a murshid possible. His father, a humble sheikh of the Refa'îyeh, and also a descendant of the founder, lived not far from Aleppo. Initiated as a poor young man into the order, Abu-'l-Huda became at first a faqir, going about chanting and jingling his tambourine. Later he was summoned to Constantinople, where his beautiful voice brought him into general notice. Having established his reputation as a holy man with the Prince 'Abd-el-Hamîd by eating a live serpent in his presence, he was appointed his imam, or private chaplain, preaching every Friday and interpreting his master's dreams. It was by his suggestion, so it is affirmed on excellent authority,[1] that Midhat Pasha raised 'Abd-el-Ḥamîd to the throne. The influence gained over the sultan secured to him a control of religious affairs second only to that of the Sheikh-el-Islam himself. He became known as the sultan's astrologer. In temporary affairs also the sultan sought his advice. Through him aspirants for the office of minister, qadhi (judge), even grand-vizier, would find their best means of approach. All of this suggests the source of his wealth, reputed to be enormous; but it should be added that great also was his generosity. The relations of these two masterful spirits were not always smooth, for sometimes the dervish and the sultan

[1] This account is based mainly on an interview, found in the last "Journal" of Dr. Curtiss (No. XIX), which he had with a notable of Jerusalem, who had been deputy to the first parliament of 'Abd-el-Ḥamîd.

would be estranged for six months at a time, but the dervish influence was maintained on the whole till the sultan's downfall. Abu-'l-Huda will long continue to be a name to conjure by with the dervishes of Turkey, though the lack of consistency between his vows as a dervish and his life as a courtier provokes free comment. It is stated that under his powerful direction the members of the order, the organization of which has become much disintegrated, were recovering a spiritual homogeneity which might destine them to form the best agents for the Panislamic movement inaugurated in 1882.[1] Up to this time, however, this movement does not appear to have gained ground in Syria and Palestine. The tale of Abu-'l-Huda is one that might be told of many an abbot in the Middle Ages. We have repeated it in this connection to emphasize its distortion of the murshid idea, not to illustrate this normally. Alas! the murshids of the church were not all like Peter the Hermit.

In a former paragraph we have referred to the uncoordinated focal points of dervish life among the Qadirîyeh and allied orders in Syria and Palestine. Such centres fall under two classes. Where there is a well-endowed and well-organized dervish house, zawiyeh or tekkeh (written also tekkîyeh), it is customary to find domiciled a sheikh who has under him, not necessarily resident in the building, a number of sub-sheikhs, who as his representatives or deputies are known as khalîfies. The spiritual ancestors of such presiding sheikhs were themselves, as we have seen, khalîfies with reference to the head of the order. At the present day they are quite independent of control though they may still bear the title of khalîfy in a historical sense.[2] In such a sense the term khalîfy is applied to ordaining sheikhs, usually of the poorer class, not subordinated to the presiding officer of any tekkeh. These constitute the centres of the second class. As the heads of tekkehs control a body of lay-dervishes, so these unattached khalîfies have their disciples. The former might be loosely com-

[1] See Depont and Coppolani (*op. cit.*), p. 327.
[2] See also p. 248.

pared to a rector having curates as well as a congregation; the latter to a rector with a small congregation alone.

It was my privilege, on a recent visit to a town of northern Syria, to receive from a sheikh, who presides over a tekkeh belonging to the order of the Sa'adîyeh or Jebawîyeh, a frank account of himself and of his followers. Though to a common friend I had expressed a desire to meet Sheikh Sa'ad-ed-Dîn, if the interview could be arranged, I confess that I was surprised at his ready proposal to come to my hotel. The moment he entered my room, and even before he came up to me, I was aware of a vivid personality. Soon justified was my first impression. Tall and straight; dignified yet winning; with magnificent bold black eyes that had a power of sudden illumination; gracious in manner yet radiating self-assurance; rapid, almost torrential in speech; well dressed in long cloak with the turban of his order; well groomed with dark beard streaked with gray—here, indeed, was a man, of authority. Proofs of this he immediately and somewhat proudly produced. From his bosom he drew out a roll, tattered and torn at the top, which proved, when unwound, to be several feet long. This was his sa'nad, or diploma, accrediting him with his followers; authorizing him to ordain or "give the way," and to heal from sickness or bites of serpents. Through the reading of this diploma I was personally conducted, as it were, for he kept glancing up to insure that I was not only listening but taking in the full meaning. He proceeded to unwind an apparently endless chain of names: the first link was his own name; the next, the name of his ordaining sheikh, from whom he had "received the way"; and so, on and on, through names well known in Moslem history, till he paused for breath at the name of the founder of the order, Sa'ad-ed-Dîn ej-Jebawi, who died in 1335. Then the line receded back through the Middle and Dark Ages with a list of names unknown to me, from whose obscurity flashed that of the great imam, Ja'afar-es-Sa'diq, till at last I was thrilled to hear the words "who received it from Hosein, who received it from 'Ali, who received it from Mohammed." The spiritual succession had now reached its source, but the pedigree went on,

changing its character, however, from spiritual to natural. Instead of the formula "who received the way from" appeared the connecting words "who was the son of," carrying the line from Mohammed to 'Adnan, ruler of Arabia in 122 B. C. For each link up to this point Sheikh Sa'ad-ed-Dîn was willing to vouch, but beyond 'Adnan, through a line including Ishmael, Abraham, Idrîs (Enoch) to Adam he acknowledged that the chain was incomplete and uncertain. On the margin of this sanad, or diploma, were seals of sheikhs of other orders witnessing to the identity of the bearer. If we assume that each diploma in the chain of documents between the sheikh and his great namesake, the founder of the order, had been similarly accredited, here then was apostolic succession indeed! Credentials though less elaborate than his own our sheikh is authorized to confer on his khalîfies, or deputies, at the time of their initiation. These in turn become authorized to "pass on the way," or ordain to the dervishhood in the villages, acting as his substitute.

Later I passed by the tekkeh, or dervish house, over which Sheikh Sa'ad-ed-Dîn presides. This substantial stone building, with an inscribed tablet over the door-way, was erected at the expense of the sultan (probably from the waqf, or religious endowments). 'Abd-el-Hamîd also confirmed his title as sheikh over the establishment, granting him an allowance of four Turkish pounds a month (a trifle over seventeen dollars). He expressed doubts, however, at the continuance of this comfortable condition, for he had heard that the reforms consequent on the revolution might include the cutting off of such allowances. Within the dervish house—such was his declaration—he was absolutely independent, owing allegiance to no central authority, whether to the sheikh at Jeba, a descendant of the founder there buried, or to any sheikh at Constantinople. In fact, when he visited the capital he did not even trouble himself to pay his respects to Abu-'l-Huda, head sheikh of the Refa'îyeh, of which order his own is a sub-sect. With the other dervish houses of his order in Syria he has no official or organic connection, recognizing only ties of friendship. Out of courtesy he would refuse to ordain a man from Da-

mascus, telling him to apply to the sheikh at that place, and would expect similar courtesy from his Damascus brother. He admitted the principle of a general council of sheikhs for matters of extraordinary importance, but said that his order had not had one for three hundred and sixteen years.[1] He likened his own authority over his followers to that of the sultan embodied in an imperial decree. Though scattered over the city attending to their own business, he could assemble them "in ten minutes" by giving an order to a dervish messenger. Sheikh Sa'ad-ed-Dîn's account of his relations to his tekkeh may be held to apply in general to the sheikhs presiding over dervish houses belonging to the rest of the allied orders of which the Qadirîyeh is the parent. We may now notice three orders not in this group.

Among the Syrian adherents of the order of the Mowlawîyeh, or whirling dervishes, who number some five hundred souls, we may find traces of that cohesion which theoretically holds together the component parts of each order, but which, as we have seen, is notably lacking, in Syria and Palestine, among the Qadirîyeh and allied orders. The Mowlawîyeh establishments at Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Ḥums all acknowledge the authority of the head sheikh of the order, whose title is Chelebi Effendi, or Mullah Khunkar, resident at Koniah, Asia Minor, where the founder was buried. Each branch is under the direction of a sheikh, who inherits the office from his father or brother, but who must be confirmed in it by the chief at Koniah. The sheikh at Ḥums is subordinate to the sheikh at Damascus, but otherwise the four heads of establishments appear to have no official relations, never meeting in a general council either at Koniah or elsewhere. At the picturesquely situated dervish house at Tripoli the only permanent occupants are the sheikh and his family. Like the heads of all such houses of whatever order, he is bound to give hospitality, even to "half his loaf," to visiting dervishes. The lay-members pursue their ordinary business in the city, assembling at head-quarters for the religious functions. Of the whirling function we speak in the next section. At Damascus these lay-brothers are also prepon-

[1] My information was received in 1909.

derant, but at the tekkeh are usually resident some ten celibates, including visitors. The sheikh is a notable figure in Damascus. In Aleppo the Mowlawîyeh occupy a handsome house on the principal street, besides owning valuable endowed lands. The cap of the order, always a conspicuous object in a crowd, is of yellowish white felt in the form of a truncated cone.

Until very recently the Shazilîyeh of Syria recognized a supreme sheikh with authority like that wielded by the head of the Mowlawîyeh over his Syrian followers. The office was not hereditary, each chief appointing his successor. When the head sheikh died at Acre, in 1901, the office lapsed, as no one was found worthy of succeeding to the post. Since then each sheikh has been independent, save in so far as he may acknowledge the personal authority of a murshid. As has been intimated, the Shazilîyeh occupy a unique place among the dervishes of Syria and Palestine. In general it may be said of them that with the Baghdashîyeh (who are represented in Syria only by a derivative order called the Kalandarîyeh, with a house at Aleppo) they have kept the sûfi ideal before them more clearly, and have carried it out more practically than have the rest of the orders.[1] They seek to attain a purified spiritualism by prayer at all hours, in all places, and under all circumstances. To the tricks of magic practised by other orders they give no countenance. At the same time they have a distinct intellectual life. The Shazilîyeh have been called the Protestants of Islam, the name being stretched not only to include the affiliated members but the general followers of the teaching. During the last century their activity was great, but the pantheistic tendency inherent in sufiism has brought upon them the suspicion of the Orthodox, and it seems to be partly owing to their prudence that less is heard of them in the present century. There is a mosque in Damascus frequented almost exclusively by themselves and by their friends. The

[1] My information in regard to the Baghdashîyeh was obtained from a Syrian sheikh. They have a good reputation in Constantinople. However, Dr. D. B. Macdonald, speaking evidently for Egypt, says they are accused of immoral orgies. (See his "Aspects of Islam," p. 154: New York, 1911.)

New Testament has been for them a favorite book of study, as they feel free to interpret the statements regarding the divinity of Christ in a pantheistic sense.

As we have seen, the Senusîyeh are represented in Syria only by a few secret followers in Damascus, under a sheikh recognized or tolerated by the Turkish Government. But as this powerful North African order, organized as recently as 1835, is engaged in spreading the Panislamic idea, for whose origin it is said to be responsible, and which if carried out logically would menace all European possessions in North Africa, a brief paragraph may be devoted to it. The founder, Mohammed Ibn Senusi, was buried in 1859 at Jerabub, an oasis in the Libyan Desert, midway between Egypt and Tripoli, and to his magnificent mausoleum throng multitudes of his followers, who are said to substitute this visit for the pilgrimage to Mecca.[1] The head-quarters of the order were transferred in 1893 or 1894 to Kafra, some three hundred and fifty miles south of Jerabub, by the Sheikh-el-Mahdi, son of the founder. In ways that (up to the present) are more peaceful, this order, still in the vigor of youth, is carrying on the work of the unsuccessful Puritan revival of the Wahabis, crushed early in the last century by the arms of Ibrahim Pasha. Austere in their living, iconoclastic toward the cult of shrines,[2] zealous in their efforts to restore the primeval ideas of Islam, intolerant not only of Christians but of such Moslem powers as tolerate these, the followers of this order, said to number millions, constitute a force that the world may have to reckon with. From other orders are gathered recruits who by conforming to certain restrictions are permitted to retain the old allegiance when accepting the new. Good Moslems are urged to leave such countries as Turkey and Egypt, where a compromise is officially made between Islam and Western civilization. It may be added that mighty as is the influence in Syria and Palestine of the orders chiefly represented in these lands, this is not on the same high plane, intellectual,

[1] See "Essays in Islam," by Rev. E. Sell, article III, "The Religious Orders of Islam," pp. 127 *ff.* Compare Depont and Coppolani (*op. cit.*), pp. 539–541.

[2] Exception is evidently made for the founder's shrine.

spiritual, and political, with that claimed for the Senusîyeh in North Africa. While the influence of the dervishes in Turkey is grounded on the people's belief in their holiness, yet the appeal is largely through superstition. That the Shazilîyeh furnish an exception to this statement has just been indicated.

The principles underlying the rite of initiation in the various orders are the same, though details may differ. The seeker (ta'lib) must show a character beyond reproach for honesty, chastity, and piety. In Jerusalem, I am assured, insistence is placed on this requirement. With the Mowlawîyeh and Baghdashîyeh the novitiate is said to last one thousand and one days. In some orders the length of the period of probation appears to depend on the aptness of the seeker to profit by the instruction (selûk') he receives from the sheikh to whom he applies and whose disciple (mu'rid) he becomes. As a result of the instruction the seeker becomes practised in the exercise of repeating the name of God (Ya Allah!) and the divine titles a certain number of times. This practice is analogous to the private zikr, to be described later. Each title, as The Living, The Powerful, The Able, repeated separately, is supposed to produce a unique and peculiar effect on the one uttering it. The forms vary with the different orders. When the instructing sheikh sees signs in the pupil that his "rarefied spirit is prevailing over his dense flesh,"[1] he is ready to admit him to the order as a simple dervish. The instruction must be given secretly, but at the ceremony of initiation laymen or non-dervishes may be present.[2] The services (which are usually held on a Thursday evening, that is, on the eve of the sacred day) include the reading in concert of passages from the Koran and the chanting of the creed with other verses.[3] When the sheikh administers the oath, he

[1] A phrase obtained from an initiating sheikh.

[2] A Jerusalem layman described to me an initiation of the Qadirîyeh at which he was present.

[3] The description here given applies to the Qadirîyeh and allied orders. Compare with the accounts of Baldensperger (*op. cit.*), pp. 24 and 31.

may spit on the candidate's hands and forehead. According to Baldensperger, writing of the peasants, with the Refa'îyeh the sheikh spits in the candidate's mouth several times, in order that he may be poison-proof. The candidate also swallows a piece of sugar which he has taken from the mouth of the sheikh.[1] In the sheikh's blessing occur the words: "In the name of the founder you have permission to heal and to cure from bites of serpents." Power to enter the fire without burning and to drink poison without harm may also be assured.[2] Sometimes incense is burned. The sheikh invests the candidate with the cap of the order and, most important of all, gives him the right hand of fellowship. In some cases the initiate is then beaten with swords and struck on the head, to the accompaniments of rude cries and shouts of "Allah!" "Allah!"[2] To accredit him with the masses the new dervish receives a sanad, a certificate from the sheikh for which he pays a fee ranging from twelve cents to five dollars.[3] To seal the reception a lamb or goat may be killed and partaken of by the dervishes of the neighborhood. The mass of dervishes do not arise beyond the first degree. The second degree is that of naqîb′, or na′yib (literally, representative of the sheikh), whose function in some orders is to have charge of the standard and musical instruments: the drums, large and small, and the cymbals. The highest degree is that of sheikh, or khalîfy, who has the power of "passing on the way," or admitting to the order by initiation. He is invested with his turban, the sign of the highest degree, by the khalîfy in charge of the proceedings.

Some of the rules governing initiation and investiture are curious. A man may become khalîfy of four orders, but it is required that he receive each "way" from a different

[1] Examples are given in the next section of the supposed healing qualities of the saliva of holy men.

[2] Compare Mark 16 : 17 and 18. The ordinary Mowlawîyeh dervishes do not receive especial authority at initiation for performing miracles, but a dervish who possesses spiritual qualifications and has acquired personal merit may exercise the function by permission of his khalîfy.

[3] But see note 2 on p. 251.

sheikh. A sheikh may carry his father's diploma provided that a notary certify to the matter of transfer or inheritance. A man, however, cannot be initiated by his own father, even if later he is to succeed him. The purpose of this prohibition is plainly to guard against paternal partiality. A further illustration of the importance attached to selection of candidates for dervishhood is furnished by the following story heard from a Jaffa sheikh: A khalîfy, who was accused of giving the "way" indiscriminately, replied that he could easily put the worth of his followers to the test (imtaḥan[1]). Assembling these outside a mosque, he commanded them to ascend a lofty minaret and one by one to jump down into his arms. Those who immediately obeyed substantiated their eligibility to the order; those who refused showed by their lack of faith that they were unworthy. Exactly how the test affected the reputation of the sheikh for carefulness I was not informed. This story also illustrates the obedience expected by an initiating sheikh from his adepts, to whom he is spiritual father, as it were.

The sanad, or diploma, is supposed to contain a *résumé* of the doctrines of the order. Diplomas differ much in extent and content. In orders where all the ranks are formally recognized the sheikh at the mother zawiyeh will have the most elaborate sanad, those of the khalîfies will be less elaborate, those of the muquddims even less, and so on down to the adepts, who have the simplest form of all, sometimes hardly more than a letter of recommendation.[2] The diplomas of the khalîfies in Syria vary among themselves in character. A diploma with a genealogy (sil'sileh) going back to Mohammed is supposed to be the most honorable. As it inevitably must include many names whose chronological succession is universally known, a genuine document will successfully challenge investigation, as any substitution or alteration would be instantly detected. If the

[1] An example of imtaḥan, or test of a true dervish, has been given on pp. 233–234.

[2] Among the Mowlawîyeh the simple dervishes do not receive a diploma but are taught certain secret words and signs by which they may be known to others of the same order.

initiating sheikh, however, be widely known personally, the diplomas he issues will be honored even if they contain only his own name, properly certified, with no genealogy appended. In case of an obscure sheikh a diploma without concatenation would not be recognized, at least in places where the bearer was a stranger. Khalîfies who can trace their pedigrees back to some common spiritual ancestor take pleasure in a bond of special affinity. Naturally, the nobility of a given pedigree is enhanced by the inclusion therein of names high in the aristocracy of sainthood.[1]

We have noticed that in some orders the hereditary principle governs the succession to the office of sheikh. This may hold true not only of the head of the order, but of sheikhs presiding over tekkehs and even of unattached khalîfies. The office is inherited from a father or brother. But even here the essence of the "ways," which none is supposed to enter without full consecration to the spiritual life, is regarded as the real determinative force. In the last analysis it would appear that a hereditary claim must be endorsed by a spiritual fitness or become invalidated. It would be interesting to inquire how far this principle is practically observed. I am glad to testify that one of my fellah workmen in Palestine, though in the direct natural line of succession as khalîfy, was refused initiation on the ground that he was too worldly. The synthesis of natural and spiritual descent is also illustrated by hereditary dervish sheikhs, descendants, presumably, of some great saint though not attached to any order. Such holy men are found among the Rubîn Bedawîn and at Deir-esh-Sheikh near Wady Ismaîl.[2] We may add that there are also many humble dervishes, belonging to no order, who, as Baldensperger quaintly says, "have their secret direct from God" and so "belong to God's order."[3] Here, of course, there is no natural heredity.

[1] A diploma granted to Sir Richard Burton when he was initiated into the order of the Qadirîyeh is given, in facsimile translation, as an appendix to his work, "A Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah."

[2] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), pp. 35, 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The phrase "A dervish at God's gate," describing these poor men, has passed into a proverb of wider significance.

Ever since the establishment of the orders two contrary principles have been at work within them: heredity and celibacy. The principle of heredity, involving the institution of marriage, contravenes neither the letter nor the spirit of Islam; indeed, is plainly in harmony with both. The principle of celibacy is in accordance with neither. "Let there be no monks in Islam" was an early dictum. On the other hand, celibacy is the logical end of the ascetic life, which demands the suppression of every comfort and bodily indulgence. Moreover, the state is almost necessitated by the wandering life. Celibates, then, there always have been among the dervishes. An early precedent was furnished by Selmân-el-Pha'risi, the khalîfy, or successor, of Abu Bekr to the presidency of one of the two original orders from which all others derive. He was unmarried. The founders of the orders of the Dusukîyeh and of the Kalandarîyeh were also celibates. But with no statistics to prove my point, I am inclined to believe that celibates must always have been in the minority. In the minority they most decidedly are in Syria to-day. Baldensperger appears not even to recognize the principle for Palestine. "As a rule," he says, "the dervishes are married men—at least marriage has nothing to do with being a dervish."[1] At Aleppo there is an establishment of the Kalandarîyeh (a branch of the Baghdashîyeh) with a group of celibates, whose sheikh must be chosen by election. The building of a similar establishment at Hamath for the Refa'îyeh, with cells for celibates, was arrested at the death of Abu-'l-Huda, who was furnishing the funds. There are about ten celibates resident at the tekkeh of the Mowlawîyeh at Damascus, whose sheikh, however, is hereditary. Some years since a monastery was established for Shazilîyeh celibates in Hums, but later was broken up. These are all the traces of celibate bodies that I have found in Syria, though there may be others. As it is, the vow of chastity is not always permanently binding. Those, however, who practise celibacy

[1] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 35.

also observe their vows of poverty and obedience with exceptional strictness. The hair is not cut; the person is neglected.[1] Celibacy extends also to women. The only old maids in Islam are female dervishes. One lives at 'Ain Ka'rim, near Jerusalem, known as Bint-esh-Sheikh, or the sheikh's daughter. She is a quiet, peaceable sort of person, famed for her cures, which attract visitors, who bring her presents from all parts of the land. Sometimes she visits the threshing-floors, taking her toll of wheat. Baldensperger asserts that a dervish may be temporarily turned into a walîeh (feminine of wely: a female saint). In this case he sits in the harîm, as he has for the moment changed his sex. Woman, so Baldensperger implies in a paragraph that is not quite clear, is held by the fellahîn to incarnate many of the attributes of holiness which should distinguish a dervish: she does not bear arms, she suffers beating, she serves others. As mother of mankind the peasants acknowledge her theoretic value, but in their actual treatment of her, so Baldensperger hastens to add, they deny this, even apologizing for the mere mention of her.[2]

A comparison of the dervish organization as it is in theory, with the conditions actually obtaining to-day among the dervishes in Syria and Palestine, suggests that organization is regarded as mere machinery. It has always been a means, never an end. It has never crystallized. Its play has been easy and fluid. It has never dominated the spirit. If the "way" is properly handed down; if the zikr is faithfully performed; if means are taken to keep the heart and life pure, it matters little to the continuance of the movement whether parts of the machinery get in motion or no. Purity is the end. If a man can attain this better through celibacy, let him be a celibate; if he can preserve it better in marriage, let him marry. A central authority is good. But if in the course of development this loosens its hold on the branches, the branches still flourish. To have a local guide or murshid is good. But if the murshid dies and there arises none to

[1] See foot-note 1 to p. 260.

[2] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 38.

succeed him, the dervish life goes on just the same. To such an elastic conception of organization may be ascribed the wonderful tenacity, the persistent vitality, of the religious orders of Islam.

III. The Dervish Life

The centre of corporate life for the orders is the dervish house, called in Syria and Palestine tek′keh (sometimes pronounced tekkî′yeh) or za′wiyeh. The former word seems to be more commonly used in Syria, the latter in Palestine, but they sometimes are interchangeable. Tekkeh appears to be used exclusively in Turkey; zawiyeh is found in all countries. The word zawiyeh is literally a corner; hence it came to signify a cell, and thus developed into the wider meaning of a building containing a group of cells for individual ascetics and pilgrims, in connection with a large hall for public exercises. The terms zawiyeh and tekkeh are also applied to the residence of the chief sheikh of an order in a given place, provided it is also the centre of organic life, and to a hospice, whether for dervishes or for poor pilgrims in general. Above the green gardens of Damascus rise the slender minarets of the mosque attached to the famous tekkeh built for the accommodation of pilgrims by Sultan Selim in 1517. Besides the mosque there is a large court with twenty-four dome-covered chambers. The whole edifice is now falling into decay, and in some of the rooms horses are stabled; but in others pilgrims still tarry on their way home from Mecca, while dervishes live in the mean houses near by. In Jersualem there are several endowed zawiyehs for foreign dervishes. One under the Ecce Homo Arch is controlled by Hindus resident in the Holy City under a sheikh. More important is the zawiyeh of the Moghrabîn, or Morocco dervishes, many of whom serve as night watchmen in the city and its environs. These are entitled to receive, gratis, bed, bread, and soup. A few of these Morocco dervishes live in the two rooms above the Gate Beautiful in the east wall of the Haram-esh-Sherîf, or temple enclosure. Some poor Qadirîyeh dervishes also

occupy other rooms in this haram enclosure, one of which is used for holding the zikr, or religious service, and for keeping their banner and musical instruments, as the order has no especial zawiyeh in Jerusalem.

The characteristic discipline of the dervishes is the zikr, literally, a "remembrance," that is, a remembrance of God, which produces a union of the heart and of the tongue in the act of repeating the divine name according to set formulas. It has been called the real pivot of sufiism, a form of revealed prayer which draws the name of God constantly to the lips, and which alone has the power of lifting to the divine presence him who thus perseveres in the invocation of his name.[1] Strange are the contradictions of the spiritual life. Though itself a reaction from formalism and a yearning for spirituality, sufiism prescribes rigid and precise rules to him who would attain the higher reaches of the spirit. A simliar inconsistency may be traced in Christianity, even in Protestantism itself. The plain aim of the "revival" is to rekindle the free life of the spirit, but all too often it is "conducted" according to set rules, while its success or its failure is gauged by the presence or by the absence of certain stereotyped phenomena. The zikr formulæ are many, varying not only with the different orders sometimes but in different branches of the same order. In general the discipline falls into three categories.[2] The zikr-el-waqt, literally the zikr of the hour, is merely a sort of litany to be said after each of the five required prayers. The zikr-ej-jalla'la, or private zikr, is for individual use. An analogous practice, as we have seen, is included in the instruction leading up to initiation. The private zikr is either "secret" (zikr-el-kha'fi), that is, to be recited mentally or in a low voice, or "vocal" (zikr-ej-ja'li), that is, to be said aloud. The Quadirîyeh are supposed to practice the secret zikr, but how far this obtains in Syria and Palestine I am not aware. According to Sell, during this discipline the dervish closes his eyes and with "the tongue of the heart" repeats the words "Alla'hu Sami'un" (God the Hearer), "Alla'hu Basirûn'" (God the Seer), and "Alla'hu 'Alimun'" (God the Knower). Then,

[1] See Depont and Coppolani (*op. cit.*), p. 78. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88 *ff.*

phrase by phrase, with alternate inhaling and exhaling of breath, he utters the creed of the unity, thus concluding the zarb, or division (strophe). This may be repeated hundreds of times.[1]

According to the form given by the same writer for the vocal zibr, the worshipper, sitting, but varying his exact posture from time to time, shouts with increasing voice and with changes of voice-production the several phrases of the creed. This zarb is repeated one thousand and one times. The zikr-el-had′ra, or zikr of the congregation, is to be said by a number of dervishes in concert after a leader or preceptor. It is usually conducted on Thursday evening (the eve of the sacred day) at the dervish house.[2] According to the order to which they belong, the participants squat on their heels, stand on their feet, or begin sitting and later change to standing. The chanting is accompanied by the bending of the body in different directions. Sometimes the zikr takes the form of a rude dance, to execute which the worshippers form a circle or a row, holding each other's hands, advancing and retreating in unison, and stamping with the feet. Beginning slowly to repeat the divine name with clear enunciation and solemn dignity, they gradually work themselves up into such a state of excitement that the rapidly uttered words become mere sounds without meaning. The swaying body keeps pace with the tongue. Physical exhaustion naturally follows this furious exercise of lungs and limbs. But sometimes with the Refa′-'îyeh (called the howling dervishes on account of the shrieks they emit during the performance), before the collapse comes, the frenzy induced by the zikr leads them into horrible demonstrations of their boasted immunity from the burning of fire, such as licking red-hot irons, biting them and cooling them in the mouth. There is no doubt that the will of the dervish is often weakened and his intellect deadened, not only by the mechanical repetitions but by

[1] See E. Sell (*op. cit.*), pp. 112–115.

[2] At Damascus the Mowlawîyeh, who devote Thursdays to the whirling function, have semi-weekly zikrs on Mondays and Fridays. In some orders at Constantinople they are even more frequent.

the subsequent scenes of excitement. The zikrs are responsible for some but by no means for all the feeble-minded dervishes. Sainthood in Islam is not held to be incompatible with congenital idiocy. Ibn Khaldûn distinguishes between the insane person whose logical reasoning has become corrupt and the idiot who, notwithstanding the limitations which prevent his conforming to legal conditions, may still exhibit a distinct turn for religious meditation and devotion.[1]

This concerted zikr of the dervishes must not be confounded with the popular function called zikr-bettaqlîd', or imitation zikr, practised by the uninitiated, though the difference appears to be largely subjective and theoretic, as dervishes often unite with laymen in the same function. According to strict doctrine, through the imitation zikr laymen may obtain protection against their enemies but not that mystical union with God produced by the zikr of initiation. The popular zikr is commonly held in mosques. A function of this sort is conducted weekly on Fridays in the Khankey mosque in Jerusalem, under the auspices of the family of the 'Alamy who control the mosque and its endowments. Similar assemblies are found in private houses. On a summer's night you may be disturbed in a Moslem town by what sounds like a railway engine violently puffing and panting, but going to the window you will perceive that the noise proceeds from a neighborhood prayer-meeting, where the brethren have the increase of power on them, as the words come faster and faster, louder and louder: "Allah Ḥai! Allah Ḥai!—God is Living! God is Living!"

In the tekkehs of the Mowlawîyeh there also takes place the sacred dance which gives to them the name of whirling dervishes. In Koniah and Constantinople this is practised all through the year; in Damascus and Ḥums on Thursday evenings for eight months, exclusive of parts of winter and summer; and in Tripoli usually during the spring season only. The dancing is said to represent the revolving of the spheres as well as the circling movement of the soul caused

[1] Quoted by D. B. Macdonald (*op. cit.*), pp. 103 and 104.

by the vibration of its love to God.[1] The participants wear voluminous bell-shaped skirts. After prayers led by the sheikh they file in stately procession before their master, reverentially saluting him with a low bow, each in turn. This function is repeated several times. Then follows the circling. When the dancer glides on to the floor his head is inclined and his arms are stretched out; the fingers of one hand are raised, those of the other are held drooping, symbolical of his being the medium of grace, received from heaven to be dispensed on earth. During the whirling the eyes are shut. As the pace increases the skirts spread out around the dancer like a wheel or disk. When exhausted he takes a rest, but, again resuming, glides into the circle for another round. On the floor there may be several dancing together or not more than one at a time. The dance may last, with brief pauses for prayer, for two hours, at the close of which the sheikh himself takes part.

Such are some of the practices that enter into the life of the dervish, formal methods by which the life is expressed, parts of the machinery of the dervish organization. To the Western traveller witnessing the public performances at Constantinople or Cairo they can give no possible clew to the principles of the orders. What these principles are in essence is expressed by a definition given in my hearing by a learned sheikh of the Shazilîyeh, the most spiritual order. "The Ways," he said, are "simply means of turning the mind to spiritual things." To this semi-official definition I would add the unprejudiced generalization of Baldensperger, arrived at empirically by long observation of the dervishes themselves and by knowledge of the estimate in which they are held by the Moslem peasants of Palestine, among whom he was brought up and with whom he had business relations for years. "The general idea of these dervishes and the reason why they exist is that they may not sin. By wearing bad clothing, being absorbed in prayer, having no earthly comfort, and going about asking alms they are supposed to keep themselves pure, and the more welies, nebies, and holy places they visit the more they have merit before

[1] See E. Sell (*op. cit.*), p. 120.

God."[1] Baldensperger adds an illustration of the searchings of heart that may accompany the resolution of an "unrecognized dervish" to become a faqîr:[2] "A dervish in my service was trying to qualify himself for becoming a wandering dervish. But he was irascible, and that would not do for a good dervish. He was fond of arms and shooting, but extinguishing life, even that of a caterpillar, was sinful in a dervish. He was also fond of good dress and was sorry for it. He went twice on foot from Jaffa to Baghdad to visit as many welies (shrines) as possible, and he hoped by the grace of 'Abd-el-Qâdir, in Baghdad, to become converted. On one trip he was absent eight months, suffered hunger and thirst and fatigue through the Syrian desert, even wore bad clothing in the time of his pilgrimage, never omitted the five regular prayers and his own voluntary prayers, but after all returned to his passions—good clothing, bearing arms and ill temper. The good fellow was much perplexed about it, and told me that he could be no real good dervish as long as he did not put aside all these sins, that he knew dervishes who even let themselves be beaten without reply. He even went further and said the thirty-eighth to forty-second verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel [relating to non-resistance of evil] seem to be wholly written for, and ought to be kept by, a real dervish. A dervish is never completely sanctified until he has done all, and then he may see angels."[3] Whether this tortured soul arrived at peace or not we cannot know, for this burst of confidence to his master was followed by scruples against further talk about his dervishhood, and later he left Mr. Baldensperger's service.

The last-named authority asserts that the fellahîn, as a

[1] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 37. An extreme illustration of fanatical self-mortification that would seem to be almost in defiance of the ceremonial law is given by the same writer on pp. 31–32, where he asserts that the Bedawîyeh dervishes "drink the water which remains from the hand-washings of an assembly." The practice of letting the hair grow long, he declares, is to encourage vermin and thus increase discomfort (p. 34).

[2] Compare with p. 239.

[3] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 37.

mass, believe the dervishes to be really holy, and respect them, "even kissing their hands when they are known."[1] A Jerusalem friend of mine, a Moslem of humble origin, but educated by English and American missionaries, claims that there is true piety to be found among the followers of the orders. Few stories are told of the abuse by dervishes of the freedom with women which their position permits them. Baldensperger remarks that the jealousy of the fellahîn would not permit this. He instances an unmarried dervish who lost caste and the respect of the people when he was found guilty of flagrant unchastity. Dervishes who persist in unworthy conduct may be beaten by their fellows, and finally expelled from the order.[2] There are poor sheikhs of notably blameless life before whom high government officials of Jerusalem rise from their seats. Faqîrs may be transported by ship from one port to another, at government expense, on the recommendation of a sheikh of the order. A story related in our first section illustrates the ready hospitality heaped upon travelling faqîrs.[3] The dervish is in a way sacrosanct. The khatîb—teacher or scribe—of a village near Beit Dejan, who composed a set of scurrilous verses, lampooning a half-blind dervish so cleverly that they were sung by the shepherd lads, was condemned, by the assembled members of the order to which the libelled one belonged, to pay a fine of one thousand pounds of rice and one hundred "sacrifices." Finding that he could not obtain pardon without paying the fine in full, he disappeared from the village, and kept away for some time, presumably till the matter blew over.[4]

Two dervishes I remember on whose peaceful faces shone the unmistakable reflection of a pure purpose of living—such a look as one may see on the face of some humble follower of the Salvation Army. One of these, Sheikh Mohammed, a lowly artisan of Jerusalem, I saw for but an hour, but in that hour he opened his heart. Like Sheikh Sa'ad-ed-Dîn he had his spiritual pedigree, but unlike him he made little of it. "The main matter," he said very

[1] *Ibid*, p. 34. [2] *Ibid*, p. 35. [3] P. 233.
[4] See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), pp. 25–29.

simply, when I referred to the diploma, "is that the thoughts and the heart should be pure." He admitted that he was called to heal folk by his touch, but declared that the miraculous manifestations of his father were no longer possible in these days, when the people are no longer good. One is inevitably reminded that not many mighty works could be done in Nazareth "because of their unbelief." What a flame lighted up Sheikh Mohammed's sweet eyes, and what a ring sounded in his gentle voice, when he rehearsed these wonderful doings of the sheikh, his father, in a story which I shall presently repeat. There was clearly a spiritual kinship between him and old Sheikh Sâlim, who was one of my diggers when I was excavating Lachish of the Amorites many years before. Patiently, conscientiously, this gentle workman would toil all day, with little to distinguish him from his fellows, save that most of these had to be watched, while he could be trusted to do the same amount of work whether the foreman were looking or not. But sometimes at night the power would fall upon him. Then would he sway to and fro, braying like a donkey, or growling like an angry camel,[1] and once he started across the field at full speed, and had not the young men, giving chase, caught up with him and brought him back, he would have gone flying through the air to Mecca—so at least the young men told me! Baldensperger speaks of a dervish who "in his fits of fanaticism," ran naked over the rocks to meet his Lord the Bedawy.[2] Other stories of the flying powers of holy men have come to me and one of a sheikh who walked on the waves of the sea at Constantinople, refusing to take a government reward in recognition of this proof of his holiness. Baldensperger states that during the Turco-Russian war

[1] Baldensperger tells of a female dervish at Sîdna 'Ali, north of Jaffa, consecrated as the prophet's foal, who went about expressing her demand for alms by neighing, without speaking. In an appended note Dr. Chaplin states that she "was suffering from a peculiar nervous affection, not very uncommon among girls in Palestine, which seems to compel those laboring under it to go about imitating the sounds of animals." See Baldensperger's article (*op. cit.*), p. 36.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 34.

"many dervishes, also as gray falcons, used to hover over the Turkish army and to catch the shells and musket balls as they flew." [1]

Let me at this point repeat the story that Sheikh Mohammed of Jerusalem told me of his father, for it is important in illustrating just the miraculous powers that are associated with lives believed to be genuinely holy. These are quite different from the tricks of magic practised by many dervish sheikhs, but by no means exclusively by them. Here, then, is the story of the old sheikh and the Turkish pasha. Once on a time, not many years ago, the dervishes of Jerusalem assembled in the great court-yard of the haram, or mosque of Omar, and began to make a loud noise with their drums and cymbals. Their head sheikh happened to be absent. Presently there came to them a messenger from the pasha in the government house, or seraya, near by, with orders to stop the noise. Troubled in mind, they consulted another dervish living in the enclosure, who answered, somewhat oracularly: "Authority is from God." So they stopped and dispersed. Meanwhile the old sheikh, chief of them all, had been digging far away in the fields. Suddenly the power came upon him, the pick fell from his hands, his eyes were opened and he saw all that was taking place in the haram court-yard, though this was out of range of his natural vision. At once he went home and said to his wife: "A disciple is coming to consult me; give him food and drink, and bring him to me." Presently the disciple came, ate, drank, and began to tell his tale. But the old sheikh interrupted him. "I know all," he said. "The governor has stopped the music of the dervishes. Let us go to the haram together." When the old sheikh arrived at the court-yard, he ordered that all the dervishes should be assembled there again, and that those who did not wish to come should be compelled. Then he commanded that a great fire of coals be made in the court-yard and that oil lamps be hung in the big tree. Then, when the lamps were kindled and the fire was

[1] *Ibid*, p. 37; compare p. 31, where the author indicates a belief among the fellahîn that the Refa'îyeh dervishes may be changed into gray falcons, a favorite form of incarnation with their founder.

blazing, and all the dervishes had come into a circle, he gave the signal for the drums and cymbals to make a noise, in comparison with which the former had been silence. The pasha heard. This time he sent no messenger: he came himself with a body of soldiers. But when he reached the haram entrance, he suddenly became rigid, unable to stir hand or foot. Terrified, the soldiers rushed in to seek the old sheikh, but at first they could get no hearing, for many of the dervishes were now pulling down the lamps from the tree and passing the flames over their heads, and scooping up live coals by the handful and devouring these. When at last they caught the old sheikh's attention, and begged him to come out to the pasha, he said: "What have I to do with him? Let him take his punishment." And the music went on unabated. The pasha stood stark. At last, when the frenzy had reached its climax, and the first chapter of the Koran had been recited, the sheikh rose leisurely and went out. With the words: "Destûr': By your leave," addressed not to the pasha but to 'Abd-el-Qâdir, his invisible lord, he gently tapped the governor's back with his stick. At once the pasha came to himself: his body relaxed, his speech returned, and he plead with the sheikh for immunity from other seizures. Now the old sheikh was khalîfy of four great orders and acknowledged four lords. So, answering the pasha, he said: "You have one sultan, I have four; you rule over the people in seraya; you cannot control the dervishes of God." And he turned away. The governor went home, but a terrible chill fell on him. Again they sent for the old sheikh; again he said: "What have I to do with him? Let him take his punishment." Finally, he took a cup of water, prayed over it—the exact words of Sheikh Mohammed were "read over it"—and said, "Let the pasha drink this: he will rest and sleep." When the governor saw the cup he said, "Whence is this?" They told him: "It is from the sheikh." Eagerly he drained it, the chill immediately departed, and he slept. The next day he sent men to the sheikh begging him to take a present. "Tell the pasha I will take nothing for myself," was the answer, "but, if he will, let him make a dinner for all

the dervishes." So, on the morrow, all the dervishes were assembled in the ḥaram court-yard, and before them was set a great feast: sheep roasted whole, huge platters of rice, curded milk, and many sweets. The old sheikh spread out his arms over the food and blessed it. And lo! though the dervishes ate each as much as he could, scarcely an impression was made on the food, which kept reappearing, being miraculously renewed. What remained was gathered up on trays and given to the dervishes for distribution among the poor. When all was over, the old sheikh turned to the pasha, who was standing by, and said: "Hast thou repented?" "Wullah," said he. "By almighty God, I have repented."

Here, then, we have an excellent illustration of what are regarded as legitimate means which pious dervishes may employ in dealing with the world of marvel and of mystery: second-sight, the gift of healing, contact with fire without burning, and other powers over nature. Miraculous powers are supposed to be derived, mediately through the chain of sainthood, from the founders of the orders. The exercise of healing powers is the most common. The uncle of a Moslem friend of mine, resident on the Mount of Olives, being afflicted with a disease of the feet, called in a dervish sheikh, who repeated some prayer or incantation, struck the feet with his mantle, anointed them with his saliva, accepted the proffered fee, or rather gratuity, and departed. I fancy that I myself was the subject of dervish treatment when, many years ago in Palmyra, a splendid old sheikh volunteered to cure a violent headache of which I complained. With his fingers, made soft and supple by daily use of the famous sulphur stream, he crumpled up my forehead, muttering indistinctly the while, and finally declaimed in a loud voice: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!" If I remember aright, my faith failed me, and the cure was not immediate.

Immunity from the power of fire is especially, but not exclusively, claimed by the Refa'îyeh, or so-called howling dervishes, who relate that their founder, Sa'id Aḥmed er-Refa'i, once put his legs in a basin of burning coals, but

was cured by the holy breath and saliva of 'Abd-el-Qâdir.[1] You may hear to-day, on apparently reputable testimony, that his adherents swallow burning coals, walk on them, and hold red-hot irons between their teeth, cure being effected by the breath and saliva of a sheikh. A Jaffa dervish told me of a fellow-disciple who, to submit his powers to a test, went into a heated oven where he remained for an hour. On emerging, unharmed but thirsty, he drained dry a whole pool of water. A Christian, sitting by when this tale was unfolded, declared that he himself had seen a dervish go into an oven and stay for five minutes among the loaves and coals.

Power over serpents is the especial prerogative of the Sa'adîyeh or Jebawîyeh, a branch or derivative of the Refa'îyeh with whom they are sometimes identified.[2] Once their founder, Sa'ad ed-Dîn ej-Jebawi, so runs the tale, was cutting wood in the forest, when he was attacked by three snakes of enormous size. Seizing these, he used them as living ropes to bind his fagots. Hence his followers to-day claim to handle, bite, and eat serpents without harm. According to Lane, the sheikh of the Egyptian Sa'adîyeh attempted to put a stop to the practice of eating live serpents, which consisted of swallowing the head and two or three mouthfuls, while the rest was thrown away. Baldensperger makes no reference to the eating of snakes in Palestine, but refers to the common practice of carrying them about in leather bags for show and performance. Among the varieties of serpents which he enumerates, the commonest exhibited are the *Zamenis carbonarius* and the *Coluber æsculapii*, the latter being often "as thick as a man's arm, and nearly two metres long," while the only really poisonous specimen is the very deadly *Daboia xanthina*. The dervishes, who alone of the people know the difference between

[1] The Greeks claim a similar immunity in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Saturday of Holy Week, when they pass the holy fire over their beards and faces.

[2] Baldensperger (see his article, as quoted above, pp. 29–31) calls Sheikh Aḥmed-er Refa'i the serpent-charmer, attributing all the serpent wonders to his followers.

venomous and harmless snakes, thus being able to play on the peasants' credulity, get rid of these creatures as soon as possible, making the excuse that they are deaf and do not hear the invocation of the holiest dervish. One is tempted to wonder whether this excuse is an echo of the idea that inspired the words written many centuries ago: "They are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear! that will not hearken to the voice of the charmer, charming never so wisely."[1] It would seem that most dervishes take the precaution to remove the fangs of the daboia, repeating the operation whenever they grow again.[2] Baldensperger, however, relates that two simple-minded dervishes, sharing the common idea that all serpents are poisonous, and encouraged to believe in their own general immunity by their experience with what were merely harmless snakes, at length chanced upon real vipers, handling these with a temerity that had fatal results. One of them, being bitten in the thumb in the environs of Lydda, "came to the mosque and fell down in the court, and died without letting the daboia go; he had choked her, for they both were found dead." In case of a bite from a harmless snake, the wound is licked by the dervish, to the wonder of the by-standers, who imagine they are witnessing a miracle of healing.

There are certain seasons in Syria and Palestine especially signalized by dervish demonstrations. During the second and third weeks of September, the month when thousands of people camp out at the Wady Rubîn (Reuben), south of Jaffa, the swarming dervishes manifest their presence with signs and wonders. Curiously enough, one of these seasons always coincides with the Holy Week of the Eastern church. Mohammedans frankly explain this coincidence on the ground of a counter-demonstration. According to my friend Sheikh Sa'ad-ed-Dîn, it was the great Saladin himself,

[1] See Psalm 58 : 4–5.

[2] This statement is corroborated by Lane for Egypt. On the other hand, while in Morocco, Dr. Talcott Williams examined vipers carried by dervishes, finding full-grown fangs in active poisonous condition.

who, counting on the authority exercised by the sheikhs of the different orders in Jerusalem and the villages around about, requested them to co-operate with him in organizing a monster procession which should outrival the crowds of Christians thronging about the Holy Sepulchre at Eastertide. This statement I have heard abundantly corroborated from other sources, as far, at least, as concerns the rise of a rival demonstration in mediæval times, though I have not traced to an authentic source the alleged connection of Saladin with the matter. But whoever may have been the genius who conceived the idea of the still popular and famous pilgrimage on the Greek Good Friday from the Holy City to the shrine of Moses, situated on the hills to the south of the road leading to Jericho, it appears to be certain that the Neby Mûsa mosque at that site was erected in or about the year A. H. 668 or A. D. 1269 or 1270 by el Melik ed Da'hir and others. The common people hold this to be the tomb of Moses, though the ʻulama, or learned, know that it is merely a memorial shrine. In the course of time the habit of especial Moslem demonstrations at this season spread to the north, where they continue to be controlled by the dervishes. At Jerusalem, however, the Neby Mûsa feast is at present an official affair, in which the dervishes have no organic part, as it were, though they appear prominently in the procession. We must confine ourselves to the main features of this often-described scene. Just before the noon prayer on Good Friday, the holy flag, which is kept at the house of the mufti, is carried to the Aqsa mosque, within the ḥaram area, by an especially appointed sheikh walking beside the mufti. At the prayer are present the governor and staff, together with huge crowds, not only citizens of Jerusalem, but folk from all over the land, who on the previous night have packed the great court-yard. The procession, headed by the holy flag, and the military band, leaves the ḥaram area by a western gate and winds up the Via Dolorosa—a counter-demonstration indeed!—emerging from the city at Saint Stephen's gate. The entire length of the route is lined with spectators of all creeds. As the banners of the various dervish bands pass by, women

break from the lines to tie costly silk handkerchiefs to flagsticks, in fulfilment of vows. Some of the dervishes wound themselves with swords and dirks,[1] being immediately cured by the saliva of a holy sheikh. The procession pauses at a gay marquee tent on the densely crowded slopes of the Mount of Olives, where the pasha has preceded it, while the imam, or preacher, reads or recites a prayer composed for the occasion. After a salute for the sultan, the holy flag is furled and packed in a pair of saddle-bags for the rest of the journey. The band, most of the soldiers, and many of the spectators now return to the city. The diminished procession, however, may be reinforced by other bands of dervishes, who have preceded it to the Jewish cemetery. Over the barren eastern hills it winds till it reaches the shrine of Moses where, for days before, tens of thousands have been assembling: Bedawîn from beyond Jordan, merchants from Damascus, pilgrims from Baghdad, holy men from all parts. There is plenty of food for all during the five or six days of the pligrimage, as the endowment of the shrine furnishes generously piled platters for those who have brought no supplies. So liberal is the general provision for this occasion that the mufti has funds at his disposal for the hire of donkeys to transport poor people from Jerusalem. All through the week the services of the dervishes are in demand to furnish music in connection with the festivities at the circumcision of boys which may take place of an afternoon at the mosque. On the following Thursday the flag is borne back to the house of the mufti with similar rites.

As already stated, similar Moslem demonstrations occur during Greek Holy Week at many points in Syria. At Hums and elsewhere the festival is known as Khamîs el Mushey'yakh, or the Sheikhs' Thursday, for, in contrast with the Neby Mûsa function, the affair is managed by the dervishes, while the ʻulama, or doctors of the law, merely

[1] According to Baldensperger these are the especial practices of the Bedawîyeh dervishes. "In processions they are very wild, beating themselves, and sticking great pins into their cheeks and near their eyes; they stand on swords, eat cactus leaves," etc. (p. 31).

tolerate without approving it.[1] The details are, of course subject to government regulation. For example, the ceremony of the da''si, or dow'si (literally the trampling), is sometimes forbidden. This practice is common on the plain of the Buka'a, north and south of the Damascus road, at Burr Elias, and at Qubb Elias, where I once saw it. A score of men lie on the ground, side by side, while over this human roadway, closely lined by eager spectators, walks a horse mounted by a dervish sheikh, whose holiness is supposed to insure those trodden against any damage. According to Lane this ceremony is practised in Egypt by the Sa'adîyeh.[2] It was not attempted at hums, as far as I heard, in 1909, when, in company with many thousand out-of-town visitors, I witnessed the great annual procession, which leaves the mosque of Baba 'Omar, to the west of the town, after the noon prayer on the Greek Maundy Thursday, arriving at the mosque erected over the tomb of Khaled, the Sword of God, for the afternoon prayer and returning over the same route the next day. Presumably on account of the very unpropitious weather, the affair did not go off with the swing and spirit which I had been led to anticipate by the accounts I had received from American and other friends who had been eye-witnesses on former occasions. Accordingly, with the description of what was seen by myself and the rest of the party are here included a few other observations, equally authenticated. The procession is divided into four or five bands representing as many dervish orders. The chief figure of each band is the mounted sheikh, who is followed by several mounted khalîfies or deputies, and preceded by the bearers of the huge standard of the order and by groups of musicians performing on drums, cymbals, and tambourines. The whole procession is supposed to be under supernatural influences. Sometimes the standard-bearers clutch the pole to prevent the sacred flag from ascending to heaven. Sometimes it is the

[1] This is probably a traditional attitude, representing a different point of view in regard to religious matters. With the 'ulama the law is predominant, with the orders it is the spirit.

[2] This same ceremony is not unknown in Jerusalem.

sheikh himself whose limbs are grasped lest he vanish into the skies. Sometimes a horse is seized with some possession and refuses to budge till the sheikh riding him bends over and whispers in his ear.[1] Sometimes a sheikh is filled with "the power," shaking and muttering as he rides on. Children are held up to receive the blessing of the holy men. Often the procession halts to give an opportunity for the exhibition of miraculous feats. One we ourselves saw several times repeated. The actors were four, all shouting "Allah! Allah!" as the performance went on. Into a small ring, immediately formed, strode a dervish, stripped to the waist, grasped a sword firmly by both ends, bent himself double so as to press the blade into his abdomen, and remained in that position while a khalîfy, or deputy sheikh, mounted on his naked back and jumped up and down in order to drive the blade home into the body of the man below, steadying himself meanwhile by bearing his hands upon the shoulders of two dervishes, the one to the right, the other to the left. When this acrobatic group became disentangled, the khalîfy drew his finger across his own mouth, and then anointed with his healing saliva the man's abdomen, which the latter had carefully kept covered with one arm since it was "wounded." Sometimes the sword is supposed to have been previously rendered innocuous by the tongue of the sheikh, which has been passed along the entire edge. On one occasion the sharp eyes of a Yankee lad saw the performing dervish quickly turn the sword so that only the flat side was pressed against his flesh. It has been proved that in piercing their cheeks with stilletos the dervishes often use old holes concealed under their beards. Different sleight-of-hand tricks are practised. Some of the ordinary by-standers are quite aware of these, but others are worked up to belief in a vision of things manifestly impossible. There was no mistaking the implicit faith of the Moslem boy who, as he blacked my boots after the function, swore with flashing

[1] At the funeral of a dervish sheikh, recently deceased in Palestine, the coffin became "possessed" in a similar manner, so that the bearers were said to have been impeded for several hours in their efforts to enter the cemetery.

eyes that he had seen a dervish actually cut himself into two parts which fell asunder, and which were then put together again by the sheikh who cemented them by his holy saliva! Sometimes scepticism and credulity exist in the same mind. Our host of the day, a young Moslem of pronounced liberal views, prominent in the new régime, somewhat contemptuously denounced as tricks all the demonstrations that we had been seeing together, but, his voice subtly changing, declared that he himself had seen a Refa'i dervish without harm run a dirk through his abdomen so that it projected for several inches from his back, and had further seen him press down upon his brows a red-hot molten metal plate! This is an admirable illustration of a generalization recently made by Dr. Macdonald: "From one end of the Muslim world to the other an unquestioning faith in the magician still reigns. Scattered among the educated classes you will meet a good deal of Voltairean unbelief, but even these individuals are liable to set back at any time. The shell that separates the Oriental from the unseen is very thin." [1]

These occasions thus illustrate not only the simple healing powers of the dervishes, to which, I have been assured, the really pious members always confine themselves, but also the magical phenomena, often harmless enough, but sometimes clearly justifying the distinction made by the great Moslem philosopher, Ibn Khaldûn, between miracle and magic. "A miracle," he says, speaking here especially of the miracles of the prophets—"a miracle is what is worked by good men for good objects, and for purified souls, and by way of proof of the prophetic office. Magic is worked only by an evil man, for evil purposes and for evil results." [2] Magic he declares to be a form of unbelief. Practitioners of magic, malicious as well as benevolent, are as common to-day as they were in the days of Moses, who had to contend with the professionals of Pharaoh's court. The practising diviners of Syria are by no means exclusively dervish or even Mohammedan. An old man of my acquaintance in

[1] "The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam," p. 126, by D. B. Macdonald.

[2] Quoted by Macdonald (*op. cit.*), p. 117.

northern Syria, a Greek Christian by origin, but now a Protestant, inherited this trade from his father, and, before his conversion, was consulted by people of all religions, who had lost property, who desired charms or potions to produce marital fecundity, or who came on similar errands such as have in all ages and lands driven folk to the magician. In such matters the creed of the practitioner counts for nothing. Recently the Greek Bishop of Hums was obliged to forbid in church the women of his diocese from consulting a dervish sheikh of great vogue. A séance was described to me by a sceptical man whose mother had taken him to a dealer in magic. The sheikh first tried to "gather the jinns," or spirits, from whom he professes to derive his information and who give him visions.[1] Falling on his knees, he bent his head so that it almost touched the ground, shook it ominously from side to side, making a sucking sound with his lips, as one might chirrup to a horse, thus talking with the jinns. Presently they showed him the desired vision, which he interpreted. Some days the spirits are not to be gathered. At other times they may be ensnared by skeins of yarn, black, blue, or yellow, brought by the petitioner, who may also present a black cat or a black hen for the same purpose. Before writing a charm, the sheikh requires to know the name of the mother of the recipient. In case of malignant magic the sheikh may make a profit out of both parties. My sceptical Syrian friend instanced the following example: A pays the sheikh for a charm to insure that his enemy B should become possessed of an evil spirit or, as we should say, go crazy. The charm is concealed under some threshold over which B is wont to pass—in the house, the church, or the mosque. When the charm works, the friends of the now crazed B come to the sheikh, begging him to discover the place where a charm may be hidden. At the likely places he goes through his prayers and incantations till he "discovers" the charm at the place where he had known it to be put. The paper is then dipped in water, and with the obliteration of the writing the madness van-

[1] Intercourse with the jinns was authorized, as it were, by the great founder, ‘Abd-el-Qâdir, who is said to have followed the practice.

ishes from B.[1] The sheikh then pockets his second fee. How B happens to fall in with the plot by going crazy, my friend did not explain. Proof of the antiquity of this black art in Syria and Palestine was discovered in our excavation of the Hebrew-Greek town of Marissa (Tell Sandahannah), dating from the second and third centuries B. C. Here were unearthed many soft limestone tablets, some in fragments, scrawled with malignant sentiments in Greek and Hebrew; together with a series of rude figures or dolls, all under three inches in length, made of lead, whose arms, legs and in some cases bodies were bound by ropes or chains of iron or bronze.[2] According to the principles of magic, this torture was supposed to be duplicated by the agony of the persons whom these dolls were made to represent. Parallel practices take place in Italy to-day.

In closing this chapter, emphasis should be laid on the fact that it necessarily gives but a superficial account of its subject. The point of view is from without. What the inner dervish life may be we can only form a vague guess based on such rare confessions as were made to Mr. Baldensperger by his dervish servant. Even that confession, it may be remembered, was cut short by dervish scruples. To appreciate the true content enshrined in religious forms alien to our own requires not only exact, first-handed knowledge of the forms themselves, but delicate spiritual discernment and keen personal sympathy with the votaries. If this is true as between High-Churchman and Low-Churchman, Quaker and Episcopalian, Protestant and Romanist, how much more difficult is the problem when it affects Christian and Moslem! And the difficulty is further enhanced when, in the place of the ordinary Moslem, we are confronted with the dervish, who adds to the common profession of Islam the mystical doctrines and rites of his order. How strangely the doctrines manifest themselves through the rites has been

[1] In some cases the water in which the charm has been soaked is drunk by the one concerned.

[2] See "Excavations in Palestine," plates 86–88, by Bliss and Macalister (London, 1902).

here described. It is hardly a matter for wonder that a recent European writer has declared of the modern dervish life that "the soul has departed and nothing remains but this external mechanism so far as it relates to the methods of throwing oneself into ecstasy and rendering the body insusceptible to external impressions."[1] Such, indeed, is the common Western view. But that this view should be substantially modified to suit the real inner facts of the case has, I hope, been the indication of this brief study.[2]

[1] Baedeker's "Handbook to Syria and Palestine," Introductory Information, xciv, written by Socin and re-edited by Benzinger, edition of 1894.

[2] The dervish life has been approached in a spirit of sympathy by Dr. D. B. Macdonald, in his two lectures on "The Mystical Life and the Dervish Fraternities," in his "Aspects of Islam" (*op. cit*).

CHAPTER VI

OTHER FEATURES OF ISLAM

Introductory Note

There are other features of Islam that call for notice even in this brief treatment. The bulk of the chapter deals with the status of woman, including the subjects of polygamy and divorce; with death and burial; and with the differences between Sunni and Shi'ah; with a brief glance at the heretical offshoots of Islam. A preliminary word, however, may be said about two matters: temperance and slavery, which respectively show Islam at its best and at its worst. Total abstinence is the glory of Mohammedanism. It is as much a part of religion as prayer or fasting. Failure in regard to this precept is not viewed with the popular indulgence accorded to some moral lapses. Islam hates strong drink. According to Mohammedan law, if a man is brought before a judge, still intoxicated, or even redolent of wine, and if two witnesses swear that he has been drinking, he is to receive eighty lashes if a free man, or forty lashes if a slave. A Moslem is usually not only afraid but ashamed to drink before a coreligionist. The use of intoxicants in Mohammedan lands can always be traced to Western influences. Through education obtained abroad, and through the temptations of bars and saloons kept by Christians, native and foreign, drinking is on the increase among all classes of Moslems in the seaport towns of Syria and Palestine, as well as in some interior cities. However, to see a drunken man, of any religious sect, Christian or Moslem, is a rarity in these lands. The whole population is, as a rule, still temperate. Among Christians the use of wine and spirits is largely confined to ceremonial and festive occasions.

Slavery is so closely intertwined with the legislative code which grips Islam with an iron hand that its official abolishment in any Mohammedan land is not to be expected. The existence of slavery in Turkey is scarcely veiled.[1] Arabia, technically a part of the empire, but never under its control, is said to be still the centre of the African slave-trade. According to Doughty, slaves are bought in Jeddah for distribution in Turkey itself. Up to thirty years ago a regular slave traffic was carried on between the Soudan and Aleppo by caravan. At the present time the slaves in that city are mostly females. But the empire contains also many white slaves. The harems of Constantinople are supplied from Circassia. During a recent winter of famine, a Mohammedan of 'Aintab sold some of his children in order to buy bread for the rest. It is stated on credible authority that in Damascus alone there are two thousand white slaves, male and female, amongst the Circassians, and in the families of the higher class native Moslems. The females are mostly concubines. The youths and men are allowed to hire themselves out as servants on condition that they give a certain portion of their earnings to the owner. Individuals of this class have obtained freedom from this state of slavery, or rather of serfdom, by the intervention of European consuls, but others are restrained from the attempt by fear of secret revengeful action on the part of their owners. Speaking for Palestine, Baldensperger admits that black slaves are on the whole well treated, and prefer remaining in bondage to being turned loose on the world.[2] Their household work is easy; marriages among themselves are arranged and financed by the master; the acknowledged children of owners and

[1] The statement has often been made that slavery has been abolished in the Turkish Empire, but this is not so. Thus Baldensperger, in his article, "Woman in the East" ("Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," 1899, p. 34), says: "Slavery is now abolished in Turkey—at least legally; but virtually it still exists." This idea probably arises from the fact that Moslems in lands where there is a strong Western sentiment are apt to keep the matter of slavery in the background. In his "Modern Egypt" (vol. II, p. 136), Lord Cromer says: "Islam does not, indeed, encourage but it tolerates slavery."

[2] *Ibid.*

slave-concubines (as everywhere in Islam) are free and enjoy the same privileges as those of a legal wife. By bearing a child to her master the woman herself becomes emancipated. Nor does color disbar such children from assuming the full social position of the father. When I was living in Jerusalem, the mayor, a member of one of the great noble houses, showed all the salient characteristics of negro blood. The Koran teaches that when slaves can redeem themselves it is the duty of Moslems to grant the emancipation. The prophet is reported to have said: "Whosoever frees a slave who is a Moslem, God will redeem every member of his body, limb for limb, from hell-fire."

I. Woman and Marriage

The position of woman under Islam to-day is a striking illustration of the evils inherent in a religious and social system that has been practically immovable since the death of its prophet. Mohammed left woman in a far better position than he found her, but the great work of improvement was arrested when he died. As there is no such thing as actual immovability, on this arrest has followed deterioration. Up to a certain point Mohammed is responsible for the position of woman among his followers to-day. But it is equally true that if the principles which he illustrated in her treatment could have been further developed in the history of Islam, her condition would have been far higher than it is.[1] Here are some of the reforms he effected: he abolished the horrible custom of burying female children alive; he limited the number of contemporaneous marriages to four, forbidding more than one unless a man could treat

[1] In the introduction to Palmer's translation of the Koran are found these apt words: "The real fault lies in the unelastic nature of the religion: in his desire to shield it from change and to prevent his followers from dividing into sects, the founder has made it impossible for Islam to throw off certain customs and restrictions [regarding women] which, however convenient and even necessary to the Arabs of the time, become grievous and unsuitable for other nations at distant periods and in distant lands" (p. lxxvi).

all his wives equally;[1] he established laws to regulate female inheritance, and otherwise ameliorated their legal status; he recognized women's duties and privileges in the matters of religion; he took for granted a certain amount of seclusion for women,[2] but the very indefiniteness of his references not only leaves the commentators with a nice subject of dispute on their hands as to how far this seculsion should be carried, but results in a difference of practice. Certainly the prison life of the harem was never contemplated by the prophet of Arabia. Indeed, the covering of the face is nowhere enjoined, in so many words, by the Koran.[3]

It is impossible to exaggerate the evils inherent in the system under which woman exists in Islam. With all the im-

[1] A liberal Indian Moslem argued in my hearing that by this the prophet practically forbade polygamy, as to treat two or more women with equal justice is an impossibility.

[2] For example, note the following verse regulating the communication between believers and the prophet's wives: "And when ye ask them for any article, ask them from behind a curtain, that is purer for your hearts and for them." (Surah XXXIII, 54.) On this Palmer commentates: "The [Arab] women to the present day always remain behind a curtain which screens off their part of the tent from the rest, but freely converse with the husband and guests, and hand over the dishes and any other articles that may be required by the company." (Compare surah XXIV, 27–29.)

[3] The following verse contains the nearest approach to it: "And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts, and display not their ornaments except those which are outside; and let them pull their kerchiefs over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments save to their husbands and fathers," etc. (here follows a list of other near male relatives, eunuchs, etc., who are also excepted. It is interesting to note that in Palestine foster-brothers have the same privileges as blood-brothers). The ambiguous word is "ornament." The commentator, El-Beidhawi, says that it has been held that the term includes, by contraction, the places of ornaments also, taking in all parts of the body, except the face and the palms of the hands, for these are not private parts. However, he adds that the only time when these can be shown is during prayer, as the whole body of the woman is private, and not lawful to any but her husband, except for medical treatment and when she is bearing witness.

The four great schools of interpretation unite in regarding a woman's hair as "'owra" (forbidden or sacred). The Hanafîyeh hold that the face may be seen but not the hands. The Shafi'îyeh forbid the exposure of both face and hands.

provement Mohammed effected in her condition, he continued to regard woman as man's inferior and, within the law, as subject to him in all things. This idea of inferiority has become stereotyped in Islam. Fear lest the ancient tradition may lose force with the prevailing of modern ideas has been a strong element in the opposition to the Constitution shown by some members of the 'ulama, or so-called priestly class. The main evils arising from the traditional point of view centre around seclusion, marriage, and divorce. Seculsion in the harem practically prevents a man from seeing his destined bride, and thus prevents her from any previous acquaintance with him; it greatly fosters the favoritism, jealousies, and quarrels logically attendant on polygamy; and it so cuts women off from the outside world that a weekly excursion to sit in a cemetery closely veiled may be eagerly anticipated as a diversion and a relief.[1] Under the marriage system of Islam mere children may be legally united. Not only is polygamy sanctioned, but concubinage with slaves is a recognized right of the husband. Among the lower classes wife-beating is regarded as a proper discipline. A man may divorce his wife out of mere caprice, for no fault committed, nor cause alleged, and without any process of law. This arbitrary power introduces an element of constant uncertainty into the life of Moslem women in the circles where divorce is common. It is a saying among Mohammedans: "When a woman prepares a meal for her husband, she is not sure that she will be his wife long enough to share it!" Yet common as divorce is, it carries with it a certain stigma. A divorced woman sent back to her father's house may be relegated to the position of a servant. From all this it has long been recognized by the West that women born in Islam are liable to terrible unhappiness from causes that do not operate under the Christian system. That such suffering does abundantly exist at points throughout the entire Mohammedan world has been again illustrated in a recent book called "Our Moslem Sisters," which contains

[1] Harem, or, more properly, ḥarîm', is the plural of ḥur'mah, woman, and from the simple meaning "women" comes to signify "the place of women."

contributions from writers conversant with Islam in different lands. Syria and Palestine are covered in two papers, which agree in presenting a very dark side of the subject. The author of the well-balanced paper on Syria, however, recognizes also a bright side which finds no place in the dismal purview of the writer on Palestine.[1] Says the former: "There are happy homes (or so they seem at first) where there is immaculate cleanliness, where the mother looks well after the ways of the household and of her children, is ready to receive her husband and kiss his hand when he returns from his work, where there is but one wife and a contented and indulgent husband and father."[2] Dr. Wortabet, himself an Oriental, surrounded during a long lifetime by Moslem neighbors, also states both sides. He points out that "strong love may often be accompanied by fierce and disordered passions, so that the object of intense devotion may also be the victim of intense jealousy and consequent cruelty," but he also states: "We know with certainty that there is much of domestic love, felicity, and peace frequently found in Mohammedan families. The fact is that where the conjugal relation subsists there is generally found conjugal love also, ranging through all the degrees of which the human heart is susceptible."[3]

The writer on "Women in Syria," quoted above, ascribes in almost every case observed by her the happier condition of Moslem women to Christian teaching and example. The effect of this is beautifully illustrated in the school established in Beyrout by the late Miss Taylor and still carried on for Moslem and Druse girls. But there are certain elements within Islam itself, not often considered, which operate toward a similar end. Thus, speaking generally,

[1] "Our Moslem Sisters" is edited by S. M. Zwemer and Annie Van Sommer, the individual papers being anonymous. The writer of the paper, "Woman in Palestine," claims that during twenty years' sojourn in Palestine she has had intercourse among all classes of Mohammedan women, but the unqualified pessimistic generalizations in which she indulges regarding not only the position of women but the whole system of Islam are quite unwarrantable.

[2] "Our Moslem Sisters" (*op. cit.*), p. 175.

[3] "Religion in the East" (*op. cit.*), pp. 230–231.

while it is impossible to exaggerate certain evils inherent in the *nature* of the system, it is quite possible to exaggerate their extent and, to a less degree, their results. Take, for example, seclusion within the harem. This naturally appears horrible to a woman brought up under Western civilization. But women bred in the harem do not miss a liberty which they have never known. Among the higher Moslem classes charming family life may be found. The spirit of high breeding is in every race the same though conditions of life may differ radically. The rather overcolored accounts of that interesting book, "Haremlik," did not come as a surprise to Western women with friends among the Moslem aristocracy.[1] But even granted that, as a rule, the evils of life in the harem bear hard on the occupants, it should be emphasized that these are confined to the cities, and hence affect only the minority of Mohammedan women. In passing from the towns to the country in Syria and Palestine the traveller cannot fail to note a great contrast. The town women when they go out are swathed in sheets, white or colored, with their faces hidden by dark veils. The peasant women, on the other hand, appear publicly in their ordinary dress, leaving the face and sometimes also part of the hair exposed to view. The husbands and fathers of these girls are good Moslems, observing the ordinances of prayer and fasting quite as punctiliously as the majority of the men of the city, and more punctiliously than many of the highest classes who keep their women in strictest seclusion. In letting their women's faces be seen in public, these peasants are apparently unconscious of transgression, and, as we have already shown, they are transgressing no law explicitly set forth in the Koran.[2] This state of things naturally

[1] See "Haremlik" (New York, 1906), by Demetra Vaka (Mrs. Kenneth Brown), describing the life of the high-class Moslem women in Constantinople.

[2] A well-known Moslem sheikh of Beyrout, whom I consulted in regard to this matter, declared that the peasant women in exposing their hair and hands (which according to the Hanafîyeh are forbidden, even though the face may be seen) are acting in ignorance of the law, and hence are not blameworthy.

gives an opportunity to a peasant woman of strong personality to make her controlling influence felt in the household and in the community. Such a woman I once met in a village lying in a deep valley of Mount Hermon, where, during the summer, the inhabitants live in booths. We were encamped not far from each other, and so exchanged calls. This handsome, dignified matron, who serenely kept her face uncovered, had an authoritative air well befitting the sole head of the house. From her little booth she was regulating the varied work of her estates, which brought her in the princely income of twelve hundred to fifteen hundred dollars a year: the herding of cows and goats; the threshing of wheat; the culture of vines and tobacco; the cutting of wood. Her sons, all married or betrothed, obediently worked under her orders. Her husband I recall as a mild man, apparently in total eclipse. Such instances are not uncommon in Turkey. Dr. Washburn, in his "Fifty Years in Constantinople," speaks of a Moslem woman as "the leader of the village" of Hissar, on the Bosphorus. Baldensperger, a prime authority for peasant life in Palestine, writes: "She [woman] is considered as inferior. . . . But from this it does not follow that a man absolutely commands the house. On the contrary, the fellah-woman is just as often—virtually—the head of the family, and differs in nothing from women in the rest of creation. She at least influences her husband, in most cases for all things, not only in the house, but in all matters affecting their commonweal. . . . I have known many fellah-women to manage everything better than the husband, and even scolding him to some degree for any mismanagement, or teaching him what to say in the men's assembly. But, notwithstanding this, she does not escape a good flogging occasionally. Yet it does not follow that the fellah-woman is to be pitied in being considered an inferior being. She enjoys her life and liberty to a certain extent, at least in many instances." [1]

[1] See his article, "Birth, Marriage and Death among the Fellahin of Palestine" ("Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," 1894, p. 133). From the context it is possible that this generalization is meant to include Christian women as well as Moslem.

This peasant freedom, however, is not without definitely recognized restrictions. The easy relations between men and women follow an economic rather than a social law. During the course of my excavations in Palestine, when I employed, in all, hundreds of laborers of both sexes, I noted that before the day's work began the women and girls sat apart with faces averted and with veils pulled forward, but that when the whistle sounded for work they threw back their veils and mingled fearlessly with the men and lads, chatting and joking with them in full comradeship. In the same way at home they would move freely about when engaged in household duties, but would not think of joining the men at meals, or when they assembled in the evening to chat and smoke. One is tempted to speculate whether these peasant women do not preserve the ideal of feminine conduct entertained by Mohammed.[1] At any rate, among the Moslem peasantry actual practice is better than the theory of the doctors of the law. Conditions which tend to restrain Moslem men from taking advantage of the license accorded them in matters of polygamy and divorce will appear in the following brief notice of these subjects.

Marriage in Islam is purely a civil contract, not invalidated by the absence of a religious ceremony, though this in some form, shorter or longer, is a usual accompaniment. The marriage is valid and binding if the contracting parties possess the legal capacity to enter into it and if they

[1] A certain amount of seclusion of women is found among the Christian sects in those parts of Syria and Palestine where Western influences are still unfelt. In the Greek churches the women are often kept behind a screen. To this day a curtain separates the sexes in the Protestant church in Hums (Emesa) In towns where Moslems predominate, Christian women go sheeted and veiled in the streets. In the country districts of Syria most women would never think of eating with male guests, and often not with the men of their own household. Baldensperger states that Christian women in Palestine are practically excluded from all men's society outside of their own households. Jacques de Vitry, who became Latin Bishop of Tyre in 1217, describes a similar state of things as existing among the Greek Christian women of his time. ("Historia Hierosolymitana XXIV," found in "Bongars' Gesta Dei per Francos.")

give their mutual consent in the presence of witnesses. It is not necessary that the contract should be reduced to writing, and, according to the Shi'ah law, witnesses may be dispensed with. Legal capacity denotes the absence of the recognized disabilities.[1] Mutual consent respects, theoretically, at least, the independence of the female. A girl who has reached the age of puberty cannot be married without her consent, though this need not be given in so many words, but may be expressed by silence, a smile, or a laugh. If married by consent of her guardian during her legal infancy, she is free to ratify or to repudiate the contract, before two witnesses, immediately on reaching puberty. The qadhi (judge) of a Palestine town, however, told a Syrian friend of mine that the youthful brides of his district were generally ignorant of their privileges in this matter, and that for his part they might remain so, lest their girlish caprices should augment unduly the list of matrimonial failures! As to the witnesses, these should be Moslems, two males, or one male and two females. According to the Koran a man may contract four contemporary marriages, but as the law requires an especial establishment for each wife, economic considerations place polygamy among the luxuries. Some poor polygamists flagrantly disregard the required segregation, in spite of the protests of the women's relations. It is my impression that among the hundreds of fellah workmen I have employed in Palestine polygamy was decidedly exceptional.[2] Baldensperger, from a wider range of observation, comes to the same conclusion. Even when polygamy obtains among the poor its unhappiness may be mitigated by mutual accommodation, as in the household of one of my Siloam workmen, where two wives, one a mother and the other childless, shared in the tender care of

[1] For the nine prohibitions to marriage, see Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," p. 316. These involve questions of consanguinity, affinity, fosterage ("milk" relationship), slavery, etc. Also a man may not marry a polytheist, though he may marry a Christian or a Jewess.

[2] Speaking of the Moslem population, Dr. Wortabet says: "Perhaps two-thirds of the whole are satisfied with one wife." (See "Religion in the East," *op. cit.*, p. 227.)

the children. In this case both common-sense and tact were exhibited, for a childless wife is at a discount in a polygamous household, where the favor shown to each wife depends upon the number of her children. It may be added that celibates of either sex are almost unknown in Islam, the regular exceptions existing in some of the more rigid of the dervish orders. Early marriage has been the rule with all classes. With the advance of the tide of Western civilization, however, the marriage of men in the cities is postponed to a comparatively late age. On the other hand, the marriage of a boy may be hastened so as to evade the military conscription. Among the peasants, girls are sometimes married when mere children because the future mother-in-law needs some one to help in the house, in which she takes her place with the other children, including, perhaps, her little husband, till she is able to perform the duties of a wife.[1]

The settling of the amount of the dowry is usually held to be an indispensable preliminary to marriage, but even if this is not mentioned in the contract the woman is entitled to a certain amount by law. Part of the dowry, in some cases two-thirds, is payable at the time of marriage, the remaining third to be paid in case the woman is divorced without her consent or in case of her husband's death. Among the peasants this "reserved dower" is used for her funeral expenses should she pre-decease her husband. On the other hand, if a man divorces his wife because she has deserted him, he is entitled to receive back half what he has paid. With the rich the dowry all goes to the girl, to be spent for her jewelry, but among the poor the father retains a part. It may be paid in money or in kind. Among the fellahîn it is often estimated at so many camels. The amount is often lessened by a system of exchanges by which a man may

[1] Baldensperger speaks of a Turkish captain in Jerusalem who married two of his sons at one time, aged respectively ten and twelve. He remembers later watching the boy of ten and his little wife as they went together to a day school, beating each other and fighting along the road. The author speaks of still earlier marriages. (See his article, "Woman in the East," "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," 1899, p. 137.)

trade his sister or daughter for another man's sister or daughter. The popularity of such double marriages is also increased by a saving in the wedding expenses, as one set of festivities will do for two couples.[1]

The marriage ceremony may be performed by the qadhi (judge), by the imam (religious sheikh), or even by the khatîb (scribe). In any case a fee is paid by the bridegroom. The ceremony does not take place in a mosque, though it may be performed in the court-house or government building. Among the fellaḥîn bridal parties are wont to assemble at the bridegroom's house. Those present are the "officiating clergyman," the bridegroom, the witnesses, and the bride's attorney, or male representatives, whom she has the privilege of choosing herself if she has come to a woman's age. The law, in its four forms of interpretation, gives the bridegroom the right to see the girl before the binding contract. As we have seen, among the peasants young men have constant chances to see the girls unveiled, but in the cities, where strict seclusion of the sex is practised, such a privilege is rarely if ever exercised. The city bridegroom must content himself with descriptions of the bride given him by some female relation or by a regular female "broker," who may grossly exaggerate the charms of the fair unknown. The form of the religious ceremony is left to the officiating party. Sometimes it is confined to a repetition of the fat-ḥah, or opening prayer of the Koran, and to the blessing. More commonly the service opens with the prayer for forgiveness, followed by four short chapters of the Koran, selected for their brevity rather than for their appropriateness, and by the profession of faith. The officiating party then requests the bride's attorney to take the hand of the groom and to say: "Such an one's daughter, by the agency of her attorney and by the testimony of two witnesses, has in your marriage with her had such a dower settled upon her; do you consent to it?" To which the bridegroom replies: "With my whole heart and soul, to my marriage with this woman, as well as to the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 140. Compare "Birth, Marriage and Death among the Fellahin of Palestine" (*op. cit.*), pp. 132–134.

dowry already settled upon her, I consent, I consent, I consent." The qadhi or sheikh then raises his hands and prays for mutual love between the pair, as existed between Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Moses and Zipporah, Mohammed and Ayeshah, etc.[1] Mutual congratulations follow. This marriage contract is absolutely binding even if it is not made effective for an indefinite period. Usually, however, the wedding festivities and the actual consummation occur within a few days after the making of the contract. To describe the wedding customs, which in many of their details are common to all natives in Syria and Palestine, does not come within the scope of the present work, as they belong to folk-lore rather than to religion. The persistence of these ancient customs, irrespective of creed, seems to date their origin far beyond that of any religious faith with which they now coexist. It must suffice here to name some curious features still obtaining in rural districts: the blow given by the groom to the bride, as symbol of his mastery; the public dressing of the groom out-of-doors in his wedding garments; the nuqût, or formal presentation of money to the bride and groom by the individual guests; the mimic war, waged sometimes between the bride's party and the groom's party, or between two sections of the groom's party; the announcement of the consummation of the marriage by a gun fired by the groom. The wedding festivities of a widow or of a divorced woman are at best "maimed rites." Many general features of the merrymaking are repeated at the circumcisions. This rite, though universally practised in Islam, is nowhere enjoined in the Koran. It may be performed at any time between the age of ten days and, say, seven years. Sometimes it is even further postponed, but it is obligatory before marriage.

Mohammedan practice recognizes three kinds of divorce.[2] All of these take effect, though only the first, called the most laudable, is universally recognized to be regular. This is the only form which does not compel a woman to marry another man before she can be remarried to her

[1] See Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," article, "Marriage."
[2] *Ibid.*, article, "Divorce."

former husband. It appears to be rarely used among the Sunnis. Dr. Wortabet, in his "Religion in the East," takes no account of it in his treatment of this sect. However, from his notice of the Metawileh it would appear that in divorce they follow this first form.[1] With the Sunnis, in ordinary cases the man need only say to his wife three times: "Thou art divorced," or "Thou art free," to make the divorce final. Indeed, should he hold up three fingers or drop three stones the result would be the same. However, it is usual to employ a formula of oath.[2] No charge against the woman need be named nor cause for the divorce assigned. There may be found among the peasantry, however, especially in small communities, limitation of the evils of divorce, as the tyranny of the husband is effectively tempered by the fear of the male relatives of the wife, whose revengeful rage might make matters very hot in case of an unjust divorce. In Syria divorce is said to be rare among the poor. Similar causes operate to the same end in higher life, *mutatis mutandis*.

In Syria, if the divorced woman is friendless, she may state her case before the court, and, should she wish to marry again, a husband must be provided for her; if she remains unmarried, her former husband must support her; children must be supported by the father; if over seven years of age, they may choose which parent they will live with; under seven, they go with the mother.[3] In addition to the caprice of the husband there are eleven conditions which, according to Mohammedan law, require divorce. Some of these are favorable to women. Either party is divorced from the other in case of apostasy from Islam; in case of proof that the marriage has disregarded a recognized disability; or in case of one becoming the slave of the other. A woman may obtain a divorce from her husband if she can prove his physical disability; if the stipulated dowry is not paid;

[1] "Religion in the East" (*op. cit.*), p. 278.

[2] For the oath "by the triple divorce," used by the fellahîn, see Baldensperger's article on "Marriage" (*op. cit.*), p. 132.

[3] See article, "Mohammedan Women in Syria," in "Our Moslem Sisters" (*op. cit.*), p. 184.

and in case she has been entrapped into marriage with a man of inferior tribe.

Mohammed recognized the religious duties of women, but the laws of Islam have gradually woven such a fabric of ceremonial ablutions and purifications, necessary before the individual is fit for formal devotions, that wives and mothers in the prime of life find it almost impossible to observe the five daily hours of prayer. Young girls, trained to pray, usually drop the custom at the critical age, and this is seldom resumed in later years.[1] Fasting, however, is more strictly followed by women of all ages. The provision made for the women of Jerusalem in the so-called mosque of 'Omar, where especial functions are held during the month of Ramadhan, has already been noticed. At this time women visit each other with greater freedom. As has also been here chronicled, women may enter upon the direct "religious life" by becoming dervishes. Such cases, however, seem to be exceptional.

In the cult of the shrines, however, the women quite keep pace with the men. Moreover, they have their own peculiar superstitions. Each woman is supposed to have an invisible double, called a karîny, her exact duplicate in disposition and character, and even in the number of children she may bear. If the woman be quarrelsome, so also is the karîny, who may vent her spite on the human children, even causing their death. Against the power of such, charms are bought from the diviners, who claim that, through these, the spirit-double may be chained to the bottom of the sea.

However they may lack in religious observance, it must not be assumed that Moslem women are without a fund of natural religion, or to some degree without a certain vital knowledge of their own faith. The very eagerness with which they receive the instruction of Christian missionary women indicates how deep is this natural religious sense. Something which nourishes this they possess in their own faith. Those who are fortunate enough to know the spiritual passages of the Koran find in these real comfort. A Turk-

[1] See "Woman in the East" (*op. cit.*), p. 145, by J. P. Baldensperger.

ish lady teacher, in one of the American missionary schools, quoted these texts with the reverence and faith with which her Christian colleagues might quote the Bible. Nor are such instances confined to the educated classes. The superintendent of a hospital in Syria described to me the peaceful death-bed of a poor Moslem woman, whose friends consoled her by repeating the beautiful passages about God with which their sacred book abounds. According to the same witness, similar instances of real spirituality, of trust and faith in God, are not uncommon among the women of Islam.

II. Death and Burial

When a Moslem realizes that the hour of his death is near he asks forgiveness of his family and friends. Among the peasants it is customary to give the wife permission to marry again. The bed is placed so that the dying man lies facing the south, or toward Mecca. The words of the creed are repeated to him in order that, so some hold, he may be prepared with answers to the questions at the dread examination of the tomb. According to the belief of some, at the moment of death the angel 'Azraîl is visible, appearing beautiful to the good man, terrible to the evil-doer, for he not only announces to each his fate but points out his place in paradise or in hell. When the man breathes his last the men go out, leaving the women to their weeping, lamenting, and rending of garments. For the men such expressions of sorrow—indeed, any expression of sorrow—are forbidden as rebellion against the decree of Allah. In fact, they should rebuke the women. Before the corpse is washed the eyes are closed and the two feet are tied together at the big toes. Opportunity is then given to kiss the face of the departed, for after the washing a kiss would render him ceremonially unclean, and, indeed, no woman save his mother or sister is permitted to look upon him, not even his wife. The washing may be done by a member of the family, but is usually performed by a sheikh or khatîb (scribe). It may be done in the house or in the court-yard, or on the roof of the

mosque. After the washing the regular ceremonial ablutions, as before prayer, are performed on the dead. The water then should be poured into a hole in the ground to prevent pollution. While the washing is proceeding the sheikh often chants the creed continuously, and the blind men, who always assemble at a funeral, may repeat verses from the Koran, while money is distributed to the assembled beggers. After the corpse is anointed it is clothed in the regular grave clothes, consisting of several parts, which may include a white cap and turban, all kept in place by extra bands of cloth wound around the body, sometimes covering it entirely, so that not even the face is exposed. Camphor is often sprinkled inside the shroud, and, among the fellahîn, when a bad man dies they may slip in a reed containing a paper inscribed with the words of the creed to help him in the examination of the tomb.

A Moslem funeral should take place, if possible, before sunset on the day of the death, a practice common to all sects in Syria and Palestine. For a woman the rites are the same as for a man. The coffin is carried on a bier to the place where the service is conducted, which may be the mosque, its court-yard or roof, or any open place on the road to the cemetery, but not the cemetery itself. In case of a rich man or a dervish the procession is an affair of some state, with banners and chanting, though all must go on foot. Contrary to Western ideas, the procession moves rapidly. As merit accrues to such as may carry the bier, this is constantly changing hands. As they walk, the pall-bearers repeat the fat-hah, or first chapter of the Koran, while men in the shops or coffee-houses rise in respect to the dead. For the regular service for the dead the reader is referred to Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam." If in a mosque, the prayers are led by the qadhi or imam, but the nearest relative is held to be the proper person to conduct them. The worshippers stand erect, without the usual prostrations, though the position of the hands is changed from time to time. After the conclusion of the service, it is customary among the peasantry of Palestine for the sheikh to turn to the people and ask: "What do you testify concerning the departed?"

To this the conventional answer is: "He was of the good folk"; but in case of a notorious evil-liver they may say: "Woe to him!" This curious colloquy, which I do not find mentioned in the "Dictionary of Islam," is sometimes reserved for the cemetery.

At the cemetery the corpse is taken out of the coffin and placed in the grave, which is lined with stones and subsequently arched over, so that no earth may press on the body, as all Mohammedan sheikhs teach that the corpse feels pain. Accordingly, the floor of the grave is made soft with henna (red dye-stuff) and camphor. The head of the grave is toward the west, and the body is placed on its right side so that the face may look south, or toward Mecca. Before the grave is closed in the friends may sprinkle dust on the corpse, and, among the fellaḥîn, sometimes the face is uncovered to prevent the dead from swallowing the band of cloth! An extraordinary practice, not obligatory but based on tradition, often either precedes or follows the closing in of the grave. In a loud voice the sheikh addresses the spirit of the dead man, to prepare him further for the dread visit immediately after the people have departed, the visit of the two examining spirits, the angels Mun′kar and Nakir′, with black faces and blue eyes. After a preliminary exhortation emphasizing the reality of death and the resurrection, he declaims: "The two angels are now coming to thee, and they will ask thee: Who is thy Lord, and who is thy prophet, and what is thy religion? By what hast thou lived and by what hast thou died? Answer them quickly and without fear: Allah is my God, Mohammed is my prophet, Islam is my religion, and I have lived and I have died by the words of the creed, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God!'" This exhortation, called the talqîn′, may be elaborated, *ad libitum,* to cover other matters of faith and loyalty.[1] While this practice is voluntary, belief in the visit of the angels, called the punishment of the grave, is incumbent on all Moslems. Among the fellaḥîn it is sometimes called the reckoning. For the

[1] It is said that in Busrah the sheikh, in giving this exhortation, may strike the corpse's head with his stick.

wicked it is full of terrors. After the talqîn the sheikh may lift his voice in the call to prayer. Sometimes the grave-diggers wash their implements and their hands over the grave. At a town funeral the citizens shake hands with the relatives of the dead, while the fellahîn salute them by touching foreheads, and sometimes offer presents. Much rivalry is shown by villagers, not related to the dead, in the matter of dinner invitations to out-of-town guests, who often find themselves in a state of agreeable embarrassment of choice. The relatives, however, may furnish food to the women, who partake of it sitting under a tree. During the days of mourning, which may range from three to eight, both sexes go to the grave to listen to readings by the sheikh, which the dead is supposed to hear. On the third day there may be a "zikr" or ejaculatory calling on the name of God. Sometimes food is brought to be eaten at the grave. The cemetery may be visited every Thursday after the death occurs and then annually on the Thursday of the dead. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Koran directed against the erection of tombs and monuments, these are common throughout Islam. Against this practice the Wahabis protested in vain. Some of the mausoleums are elaborate. The ordinary cemetery usually shows a forest of head-stones in which there are often niches for small oil-lamps, to be lighted on Thursday evenings. A turban surmounting the head-stone indicates the grave of a male. A practice analogous to the saying of masses for the dead has already been described.[1]

III. The Shi'ah Sect

Thus far this presentation of Islam has followed the practices of the Sunnis, or self-called Traditionalists, who form a very large majority of the Moslems of Syria and Palestine. Scattered over these lands, however, are numbers of Shi'ahs, literally followers—that is, followers of 'Ali, first cousin to the prophet and husband of his favorite daughter Fatima. They prefer to be called simply Moslems,

[1] See foot-note on p. 214.

though the term Shi'ah is not denied. In Damascus they are known as Arfadh' (alternative forms are Rafidhîn and Rawafidh'), a term invented by the Sunnis in the early days of the schism, and meaning deserters, traitors, or forsakers of the truth.[1] The term Metawa'li (plural Meta'wileh) is a synonym for Shi'ah, signifying one who befriends 'Ali.[2] It appears to be only of local Syrian usage. Under the designation of Meta'wileh the Shi'ahs are known throughout their two chief districts: in the highlands east of Sidon, Tyre, and Acre, and in the plain of Coele-Syria (the Buqa'a), as well as in the district of 'Akkar, north-east of Tripoli, in the northern and southern ends of the Lebanon, and in the cities of Sidon and Tyre. South of the Sea of Galilee the Shi'ahs are practically unknown. As they are everywhere registered under the category of Moslems exact statistics are wanting, but they must number at least fifty thousand.[3] Probably, on account of their distinct physiognomy, it is often assumed that they are of foreign origin. They certainly turn toward Persia as the stronghold of their faith, but this is because in that land the Shi'ah Moslems are in the overwhelming majority. Churchill quotes a tradition tracing them to Bokhara.[4] According to this tradition they fled into the mountainous districts named above after an un-

[1] For an elaborate history of the word rawafidh, see Appendix A to the article entitled "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites," etc., by Professor Friedlaender, in the "Journal of the American Oriental Society," vol. XXIX, pp. 137–159.

[2] From وليّ (waliy'yi), friend, comes the verbal form تولّى (tewal'li), to make a friend of, from which is derived the progressive noun متولّي (metawal'li), plural متاوله (meta'wileh), one who makes friends with. The Shi'ahs understand the word 'Ali. This is the accepted derivation, though one from the root, والى, to separate, has been suggested.

[3] Dr. Wortabet, writing in 1860, regards eighty thousand as an overestimate. ("Religion in the East," p. 261.) The recent estimate of Cuinet is only about thirty-seven thousand. The number given above is a mere guess.

[4] "Mount Lebanon," vol. III, pp. 110–111, by Colonel Churchill (London, 1864).

successful rebellion. The Count de Jehay says they are supposed to have arrived in Syria in the twelfth century with the Kurdish hordes led by Saladin and other chieftains.[1] Professor Boulos Khauli, of the Syrian Protestant College, points out that it is not necessary to assume for this sect an origin in Syria different from that of the Sunni Moslems. From the beginning 'Ali had his partisans wherever Islam spread. According to a tradition of the Metawileh, the caliph 'Othman banished to Damascus a certain Abu 'Ozar who took the part of his rival 'Ali. Because of his active influence in Damascus he was later transferred to Sarafend (Sarepta), south of Sidon, where he continued to preach the claims of 'Ali. The adherents thus gained to the cause are said by the Metawileh of the region to have formed the nucleus of the sect in Syria. The distinct physiognomy of its votaries is easily accounted for by an extraordinary exclusiveness enforcing through many centuries marriage within their own community. It is quite possible that the above-named traditions of a foreign origin may apply to the immigration of certain families who swelled the ranks of a sect already formed in Syria. Whatever their origin, they had become strongly established around Ba'albek in the beginning of the sixteenth century. An early leader in that district, one Harfush is said to have given his name to the terrible house of Harfush, whose members have held despotic sway in the same region until quite recent times.

In order to make clear the roots of the strong antagonism still mutually felt by the Sunnis and Shi'ahs, we may be allowed to return to the history of the schism already touched upon in the first chapter. After the death of the prophet, one party claimed that the divine right of succession was vested alone in 'Ali and his descendants. But the contrary opinion prevailed; Abu Bekr, 'Omar, and 'Othman were successively elected to the caliphate; and twenty-three years had elapsed from Mohammed's death before the succession of 'Ali became a fact. Revolt against the new caliph drenched Islam with blood, and after five years 'Ali fell sole

[1] See "De la Situation Légale des sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans," pp. 424–442, par le Conte F. van den Steen de Jehay (Bruxelles, 1906).

victim to a threefold puritan plot that aimed to destroy also his rival, Mo'awiyah, Governor of Syria, and the latter's lieutenant, 'Amr, who was leading the revolt in Egypt. The followers of 'Ali elected his eldest son Hasan, but he shortly abdicated in favor of Mo'awiyah, with the understanding that he should resume the caliphate on the latter's death. On Mo'awiyah's son Yezid, who ignored this compact, has rested the suspicion of causing the death of Hasan by poison, but it appears to be the fact that he died naturally in his bed at Medinah. The adherents of the house of 'Ali now rallied about his second son, Hosein. Plain, unvarnished history represents his death, and that of his brother 'Abbas, as the inevitable culmination of the unequal contest for supremacy with the forces of the successful Yezid. On the plains of Kerbela, near Kufa, Hosein, with his handful of followers, was surrounded by forty thousand horsemen. In a series of single combats, marvels of valor and courage, the little band, one by one, gave up their lives. This plain, unvarnished tale is thrilling enough, but in the yielding of Hosein to an inevitable fate the Shi'ahs see a voluntary self-sacrifice, a vicarious offering for the sins of his people, foretold, they affirm, by the prophet himself.[1] They believe that before his death Hosein spoke words like these: "O Lord, for the merit of me, the dear child of thy prophet; O Lord, for the sake of young 'Abbas rolling in his blood, even that young brother that was equal to my soul, I pray thee, in the day of judgment, forgive, O merciful Lord, the sins of my grandfather's people, and grant me, bountifully, the key of the treasure of intercession."[2] No wonder that for the descendants of those men, through whose malignant agency they believe that this atonement was accomplished, the Shi'ahs have nothing but fierce hatred! Even thus, but far less poignantly, do the Christians of the land regard the Jews

[1] The common people in Persia are said to include all Hosein's fellow-martyrs on that day as actors in this vicarious atonement.

[2] See p. 245 of the chapter called a "Persian Miracle Play," in "Studies in a Mosque," by Stanley Lane Poole (London and Sydney, 1893). Our notice of this play, which follows, is based upon Poole's description. The passion play may be given also at other seasons.

whose ancestors they hold to have been agents in the tragedy of the crucifixion. This hatred is fanned anew into flames at the beginning of each Moslem year. Among the Shi'ahs the woes of the house of 'Ali are commemorated during the first ten days of Moharram, known as the 'Ashura. Only the tenth day is observed by the Sunnis, and for quite another reason: the creation of Adam and Eve, of heaven and hell, etc., etc. In some places this is kept as a fast, but I am told that in parts of Syria the Sunnis make of it a New-Year's feast, wearing gay garments and going forth to picnics, thus widening the breach between them and their Metawileh neighbors, whose grief and mourning culminate on this tenth day, the Good Friday of their passion season. The manner of the commemoration varies in different lands. In Persia and India it takes the form of a passion play, following for ten days, with two performances a day, the events of the tragic history that terminated at Kerbela with the martyrdom of Hosein. For ten days in every Persian town the streets are filled with mourners, groaning, weeping, casting dust on their heads, wounding themselves with knives, calling out: "O Hasan! O Hosein!" as they hasten to the theatres. Some of these are enclosures in the court-yards of palaces or mosques, with a brick platform in the centre for a stage. Many are attached to private houses by their rich owners, who expend enormous sums on the lamps and decorations. The stage properties are of the simplest —a tank sufficing to represent the Euphrates—but the "tabût," a model of the tombs of the martyrs, is sometimes very costly. These tabûts are erected not only on the stage of the theatres but all over the city. Around the stage sit or squat the populace, sometimes to the number of twenty thousand, while the nobles occupy boxes at the sides. As the play advances the demonstrations of grief become acute, the audience no longer sees the mere representation of a tragedy—this is the tragedy itself! The soldiers of the usurper Yezid are driven from the stage by stones thrown by the infuriated people! Even the actors share in the illusion: it is said that the head of the man impersonating Hosein was once actually cut off in the frenzy of the actor-

murderer! In Bombay, after the last performance of the tenth day, the tabûts, or tomb-models, are carried in hundreds of processions, from the theatres and other places to the sea, where sometimes they are left to be the sport of the waves.[1]

The 'Ashura commemoration of the Syrian Metawileh is but a shadow of the Persian play. I am told that the local religious sheikhs forbid as sacrilege, or dishonor to the family of the prophet, even the publication of the history of the house of 'Ali in the form of a drama merely for private reading, any dramatic representation being considered out of the question. The reading of this history in undramatic form is, however, a sacred duty and privilege, pursued in all Metawali communities three times a day for the ten days.[2] As the village mosques are small, the readings, usually conducted by a sayyid, or alleged descendant of 'Ali, may be given at the house of some comparatively well-to-do man, who acts as host, furnishing tea or coffee or cakes "for the sake of Hosein." Loaves are also given away to commemorate by name 'Ali's fellow-martyr and brother 'Abbas. The tenth day is kept with culminating solemnities. All shops are closed; all labor suspended. Shaving the head or face, wearing fine clothes, taking walks—these, with anything else that may give comfort or pleasure, are forbidden. The morning reading is lengthened out from sunrise to noon. Sighs and groans, beatings of the breast, cries of "Ya Hasan! Ya Hosein!" increase in intensity. For while the Syrian form of recalling the woes of the house of 'Ali may be but a shadow of the Persian passion play, yet it stimulates the same emotions. A place is appointed to which is brought food cooked in every house "for the sake of Hosein," that the poor may not be forgotten in the commemoration.

Though the points of likeness between the Sunnis and Shi'ahs greatly outnumber their points of difference, the latter are extremely acute, centring chiefly in the question of the caliphate or imamate, as the Shi'ahs prefer to designate

[1] In India the Sunnis have similar processions on the same day, sometimes joining with the Shi'ahs. Occasionally the Hindus accompany the Moslems in a procession of their own.

[2] Such readings, common in Persia at any time of the year, may there be substituted during the 'Ashura for a dramatic representation.

the succession after Mohammed. The two lines or lists agree in two names only, those of 'Ali and his son Hasan. Especially do the Shi'ahs repudiate the first three caliphs: Abu Bekr, 'Omar, and 'Othman. They believe in a line of twelve imams, infallible in character and teaching, beginning with 'Ali and carried down from father to son as far as the young child of Hasan-el-'Askari, Mohammed, who mysteriously disappeared about the year 878 A. D. According to one tradition the boy entered a cave in search of his father and was never seen to come out. The Shi'ahs have especial honor for the sixth imam, Ja'afar-es-Sâ'diq, as the source of the peculiar school of jurisprudence according to which their conduct is regulated. They trace the imamate through his second son, Mû'sa-el-Qâ'sim, whereas the Isma-'ilîyeh, followed by the Druses, hold to a succession through the son of Ja'afar's eldest son Isma'îl. The Nuseirîyeh follow the main body of Shi'ahs in this matter. All Moslems look forward to the coming of the Mah'di, the directed one, who will set all things right. The Shi'ahs, however, hold that he has already appeared once in the person of Mohammed Ibn Hasan, their twelfth imam, who was lost in the cave. In regard to their belief in the remanifestation of the Mahdi, Dr. Wortabet obtained this account from books coming to him from a great Metawali leader, the Sayyid Mohammed Amîn-el-Hoseiny, of the line of the prophet: "At the appointed time he (the twelfth imam) will manifest himself to men, and will then be known by the name of Guide (El-Muhdy), and with Jesus, the son of Mary, will fill the whole world with the knowledge of God. . . . This set time is fast approaching. All this is a part of the settled faith of the Metawileh. Some of their learned men believe also that after the appearance of the Muhdy he will in due time die, and be succeeded by his own father, or predecessor in the office, who will be raised from death for this purpose; and a retrograde resurrection and succession will go on, until the twelve imams shall have risen and completed the regeneration of the world. After this will come the end, the judgment, and eternity."[1] In the meantime, so hold the

[1] "Religion in the East," p. 274. Dr. Wortabet's chapter on the "Metawileh" is full of first-hand information.

Metawileh, this twelfth imam is existing in the world disguised and unknown. He is supposed to be present often at Mecca during the Hajj ceremonies. Many stories are told to-day of his succoring of people in danger or distress. Once a man on a journey was attacked by robbers, and called on the imam for aid. To him then appeared a simple muleteer, or so, indeed, he seemed, till after delivering the traveller from the robbers, and conducting him to a safe place, he vanished from his sight. A pilgrim on the road to Mecca fell behind the caravan, his camel being sick. In vain he urged the beast along, but the train disappeared in the distance, leaving the man in danger, not knowing the route and fearful for the dangers of solitary travel. Suddenly there appeared a man on a white horse, lifted the pilgrim to a place behind him, bore him swiftly toward Mecca, dropped him gently to the earth, and when the man looked up there was no horse nor rider. His guide had been the imam.

The Sunnis and Shi'ahs differ from each other not only in their belief as to the personnel of the true successors of Mohammed but in their theory as to the nature of the office. With the Sunnis the caliphate is chiefly a temporal office, with the Shi'ahs the imamate is valued mainly on its religious side. The imams are practically regarded as supernatural beings whose commands come with divine authority. To them are known the secrets of God; by them is the way of access to him. Thus in each imam the Metawileh see the high-priest, the preacher, the expounder of faith, and the guide in all spiritual matters.[1] For all the alleged descendants of 'Ali, the first imam, the Metawileh have a great respect, enhanced by the fact that they are also descendants of the prophet. In Balad' Besha'ra—the mountainous region east of southern Phœnicia—are found to-day, in a state of poverty, two branches of this "royal family," called respectively Ḥasanî'yeh and Ḥoseinî'yeh, who wear the green turban, the badge of the prophet's family. To support these sayyids, or lords, as they are called, by charity—known as sadaqah—is a duty incumbent on all Metawileh, though they are in general poor themselves. Most of the

[1] Compare Wortabet's "Religion in the East," p. 273.

sadaqah goes to those sayyids who, after completing their theological studies in Irak (Mesopotamia), return as ʻulama, to be consulted on matters of law and religion, to draw up marriage contracts, and to perform other "clerical" duties, if we may so call them. Collections in money and kind are made every year for the acknowledged sayyid of the district. Other descendants of the "royal house," numbering several hundreds, are obliged to supplement their small share of the dole by work which is done for other people usually, as they seldom are landowners. They collect their own dole by a house-to-house visitation, proving their claims to descent from the house of ʻAli by a certificate countersigned by the seals of well-known sayyids. Both classes, learned and unlearned, are said to be distinguished by a meticulous observance of all the ordinances of their religion. Sayyids are extremely common in Persia.

From the fact that the Shiʻahs reject the corpus of Sunni traditions, including those preserved by the first three caliphs, whom they repudiate, it is often hastily assumed that they deny all tradition. On the contrary, they have a corpus of their own, including many sayings of ʻAli and the other imams. In Syria this is interpreted for them by an especial mufti appointed by the Turkish Government. The differences between Sunni and Shiʻah practices are mainly confined to details of ritual. There is some variation in the ceremony of ablution before prayer. For example, the Sunni lets the water run from the hand down the arm to the elbow; the Metawali reverses the process so that the water runs from the elbow to the hand. Before praying he should remove from his person anything of gold, such as rings or a watch. He should always carry with him a "sejdi," or praying pebble, a cake of baked clay, made of earth from Mecca or Medinah or Kerbela, or some other notable place of visitation. This is to be placed on the ground before him so that his forehead may touch it in the due course of prostration. In case it is lost or unavailable, he may substitute as a reminder a round stone or a bit of green paper or leaves from any plant that does not bear fruit. A sejdi that I have handled is octagonal in shape, measur-

ing one inch and three-quarters across. Within an ornamental border are stamped in Arabic the names God, Mohammed, 'Ali, Ḥasan, Ḥosein. It is said that a Metawali fears to break an oath made on this sedji. In the ritual of the prayer itself there are minor differences between the two sects as well as in the number of prostrations required at various times. Again, the Metawileh do not follow the distinctions made by the Sunnis between an obligatory (fardh) prostration, or one expressly commanded, and a voluntary (sunnah) prostration, or one made in accordance with the practice of the prophet, but they appear to recognize the former only, as their form of declaration testifies. For the sake of convenience they may combine the noon prayer with the afternoon worship and the sunset prayer with the evening, practices not usually allowed by the Sunnis. No especial prominence seems to be given to the Friday noon service, which need not even have a sermon. At times the women pray in the open air. Dr. Thomson, who never noticed this custom among the Sunnis, saw a group of Metawali women go through the regular ablutions and prayers near the fountain of Jeba'a-el-Halâwy in the southern Lebanon. Another visitor at this place states that this custom holds on certain days only, when the women have the exclusive right to pray near a holy place. Unlike the Sunnis, who, when praying in a group, follow an imam or leader, the Metawileh always pray singly, unless they can be led by a mujta'hid, or sort of a doctor of divinity, who has studied in the theological institution at Irak. Though the Shi'ahs have mosques of their own, they have the right at any time to worship with the Sunnis. In fact, they claimed the right to contribute to the rebuilding of the great mosque of Damascus, after the fire of 1892, taking up a considerable collection. This offering the Sunni guardians absolutely refused. But the Shi'ahs bided their time. When the restoration was complete and the scaffolding with other débris of reconstruction removed, they suddenly swarmed into the immense court-yard, an irresistible army of hundreds, with pails and brooms and hose, and made the holy house sweet and clean, a meet place for prayer; contributing in militant labor what they were kept

from giving in money. With the Metawileh, pilgrimage by proxy, for the living as well as for the dead, appears to be more common than it is with the Sunnis. A man may assign a certain sum by will, to be paid to the proxy making the pilgrimage after his death. If made for a living person, the latter should pay the expense of the journey. Visitations to the tombs of ʻAli and Hosein, at Kufa and Kerbela respectively, are meritorious, but are called, technically, ziaras, though they are sometimes popularly referred to under the name of hajj.

In addition to the normal union the Shiʻahs recognize two forms of marriage held to be illegal by the Orthodox: mut′ʻah, or temporary marriage, and tahrim′, or nominal marriage.[1] The former is called the curse of modern Persia. Among the Metawileh arrangements for such a union are made verbally between the man and woman, usually a widow, with stipulations covering the length or period—a day, a week, a year, as the case may be, and also the amount of "dowry" to be paid by the man, strictly in advance. Within the stipulated period divorce is forbidden, but at its termination each party is perfectly free. Such unions are common, even among religious sheikhs bringing no technical disgrace to either party, but men of social standing following the practice would prefer to keep the matter quiet, while a lady of good family would never contract such an alliance. The tahrim, or nominal marriage, is a legal fiction, merely an ingenious pretext for avoiding the practical inconvenience arising from the seclusion of women. It is a marriage without consummation, for the contract gives the man the right simply to see the woman. Such an arrangement permits a woman to facilitate the transaction of business by "marrying" her agent. But the

[1] Wortabet paraphrases "mutʻah" as "marriage of privilege." Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam" points out that temporary marriages had been permitted by the prophet, but that the Sunnis declare he afterward prohibited a mutʻah marriage at Khaibar. The Shiʻahs justify their practice also by an interpretation of surah IV, 28. If the woman becomes pregnant (which may be lawfully guarded against), the child is the temporary husband's; but if he should deny the child, the denial is sustained by the law.

man also gains access to his "wife's" immediate female relations, which may be the chief object desired. To cite a concrete example: A widow wishing to have a proper escort to Mecca may arrange a temporary marriage between her daughter and some trusted friend of her late husband's, who is thus enabled to care for both ladies with the freedom of a brother till the end of the pilgrimage, when the bond is dissolved. It may be added that in regular marriage divorce does not depend, as with the Sunnis, on the caprice of the husband, but upon a regular legal process.

The exclusiveness of the Metawileh is enhanced by their own idea that ceremonial uncleanness is produced by contact, even at second hand, not only with members of other religions, but even with the Sunni Moslems, though fear of the power of the latter leads to a relaxation of the principle in Syria. They will not eat the meat of animals killed by aliens, drink of water from their vessels, nor permit them to bake bread in ovens used by themselves. If compelled to eat with others, they will not use the same side of the plate, and, after the meal, must wash away the defilement by pouring water over the mouth. If a Metawali sell leben (sour milk) to a Christian, he must pour it himself into a vessel brought by the latter, for, should the buyer touch the shop vessel or dip his finger into the leben, the defiled liquid must all be poured away. The Metawileh will not touch a stranger whose clothes are wet, nor permit him to enter their houses, if they can help it. One travelling among them will find it hard to get a drink of water unless he provide his own cup. An especially polite or kind-hearted host may concede the use of his own cup to a thirsty Christian, but on the departure of the guest the cup must be broken. It may be emphasized that this insistence on cleanness is strictly ceremonial. In the Metawileh villages of the interior actual cleanliness is sadly wanting. Never shall I forget the night spent by my father and myself on the filthy floor of a khan, or stable of a squalid village in Naphtali, where shadowy cats, lean and grim, prowled around the saddle-bags that served us for pillows, nor the surprise I felt at two in the morning, when my father returned from a raid on the reluctant

hospitality of the town, bearing some milk which an ancient dame had been persuaded to draw from a ghastly cow into our own vessel.

Notwithstanding their exclusiveness, the Metawileh follow the doctrine of taqî'yah, or "guarding oneself," held by all Shi'ahs. This is defined in the "Dictionary of Islam" as "a pious fraud by which the Shi'ah Moslem believes he is justified in either smoothing down or in denying the peculiarities of his religious belief, in order to save himself from religious persecution." A Shi'ah can, therefore, pass himself off as a Sunni to escape persecution. Such conformity, or "bowing in the house of Rimmon," is illustrated at public funerals, where the talqîn, or address to the deceased, is given in conformity to Sunni usage, though in private funerals the Metawileh omit it at the grave, having breathed it into the ears of the dying man. The secret religions of Syria, all of which are offshoots from the Shi'ahs, exhibit some startling corollaries to this doctrine.

Though the cults of the Druses, the Nuseirîyeh, and the Isma'ilîyeh represent the lasting effects of schismatic movements in Islam, already sketched,[1] their present votaries do not hesitate to call themselves Moslems when it is for their safety or convenience so to do. Sheltered in their Lebanon villages, or segregated in the highlands of the Hauran, the Druses openly avow their independence as a sect. But individual Druses, settled in Moslem cities, conform to many of the practices of Islam. This they may do with a quiet conscience, following the development of the doctrine of taqîyah taught by their religion. They are explicitly told that in private they may curse Mohammed as "bastard, ape, and devil," while in public they may call him the prophet of God! A similar tendency is found among the Nuseirîyeh and the Isma'ilîyeh. A young emigrant with whom I chatted on a West-bound steamer solemnly maintained that he was a Moslem until my friendly cross-questioning convinced him that I had guessed him to belong to the Nuseirîyeh. He then quite frankly acknowledged his faith.

[1] See p. 17.

Those Isma'ilîyeh in Syria who openly admit their belief are estimated at some twenty thousand by a native official intimate with them, but he holds that these form only a tenth of the whole number, as the majority are hidden in the cities of Syria under the general name of Moslems, openly denying the faith which they secretly practice. The Isma'ilîyeh send a yearly tribute to one Sultan Mohammed Shah, known as the Agha Khan in Bombay, where his father was exiled, for political reasons, from Persia. This remarkable personage, who is well read in many modern languages and has the appearance of a polished man of the world, claims lineal descent from the Old Man of the Mountain, Lord of the Assassins. The Isma'ilîyeh cherish his picture in their houses, believing him to be an incarnation of the Deity. His enormous wealth is mainly derived from this tribute, much of which is sent by the Isma'ilîyeh of East Africa. And yet he is counted as a prominent figure in Islam, with great influence over the Shi'ah Mohammedans of India!

Theologically, these three secret cults of Syria are derived from the same root, namely, the teachings of an extreme sect of the early Isma'ilîyeh called the Batinis or Esoterics. Initiation, thus, plays an important factor in all three cults. With the Druses, the initiates, or 'oqqâl' (that is, the wise), include both men and women, but the non-initiates, or jahhal' (that is, the foolish or simple), form the majority of the Druse population. The initiated are divided into two classes. Members of the higher class are characterized by extreme dignity and exaggerated decorum of speech. As has been stated, the Druses speak of themselves as Unitarians unless they are forced to use the common designation for the sake of convenience. The services of the initiated are held on Thursday evenings in the khul'wehs, which are usually situated on some lonely hill-top, or in the meeting-house in the village. The meetings are supposed to have a strongly political flavor. Formal prayer is said to form no part of the service, which includes exposition of the secret books, composed mainly by Hamzeh, the Batini missionary, who was the real founder of the sect in the tenth century. The uninitiated participate in no religious service nor practices,

save at the annual feast which coincides with the great feast of the Moslems. With the Nuseirîyeh, on the other hand, the vast majority of males are initiated at the age of eighteen,[1] while women, who are supposed to be without souls, are not admitted to any share in the religious mysteries. In their prayers the men go through prostrations similar to those of the Moslems, but unlike these they pray only in secret, at any rate not before members of other sects. At the ceremony of initiation wine is used, as it is also at the annual feast of the quddâs', which is the ordinary word for the Christian mass. Whether the Nuseirîyeh borrowed this use of wine from Christian sources or whether it is the survival of older heathen practices is not clear. Some influence of Christianity is indicated by the observance of Christmas. At the feast of the quddâs a bowl of wine, the symbol of light, is placed before the imam, who, after a service of reading, presents a cupful to each initiate present.

At the initiation of the Nuseirîyeh, the novice is threatened with the meanest form of reincarnation if he betray the secrets. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls is held both by the Druses and by the Nuseirîyeh, but with a difference. According to strict Druse doctrine, metempsychosis operates only from one human body to another, though some of the ignorant believe in reincarnation in lower forms. The learned teach that all human souls were created at once, and, as the number never changes, the death of one person involves the birth of another. Character determines whether the soul shall pass to a higher or to a lower human form. But with the Nuseirîyeh the present life determines whether the next incarnation shall be in a higher human form or in some animal form. Both Druses and Nuseirîyeh seem to be less secret about this matter than they are regarding their other beliefs. The Druses relate amusing stories, involving memories of former incarnations, as that of a small boy who went to call on his former wife, finding his children grown up and inclined to be patronizing to their little papa. A religious sheikh of the Nuseirîyeh gave a full account of

[1] According to Rev. S. Lyde, in "The Asian Mystery" (1860), all males are initiated at eighteen.

their belief in this matter to a native Protestant of northern Syria for whom he had great respect and affection. All souls were created from God's spirit, at the same moment, and placed in a variety of bodies, human and animal. All were happy till sin entered the world, though the spirits incarnated in human bodies were nobler. A man is judged by his works. A persistently good soul is reincarnated in human forms seventy-two times, passing at last into the body of a religious sheikh, after which it becomes a star in heaven. The soul of a bad man passes into a lower form, determined by the degree of his wickedness—cat, donkey, wolf, ant, louse, etc. No soul is eventually lost, for the work of purification involves the final triumph of good, so that at the end all created souls will become stars in heaven, having previously passed through the body of a Nuseiry sheikh. This salvation is to include members of all religions. Christians at first become swine; Jews become apes; Moslems, donkeys and jackals. But later these souls, being purified, pass into the bodies of good Nuseirîyeh, and so on to heaven.

One of the chief beliefs of the Shi'ahs is that the imams are supernatural beings whose commands come with divine authority. This doctrine prepared the way for the acceptance of the divinity of the caliph El-Hakim by the body later called Druses. In El-Hakim they believe occurred the last of ten incarnations of the Deity, the second of which was in the time of Adam. They also hold that in the beginning of things there emanated from the essence of God a spirit of pure light called the universal mind, who become the medium of creation.[1] Contemplating his own perfection, this spirit thereby committed sin, hence, apart from his own volition, there emanated from himself a spirit of

[1] The Druse secret books, which first came to light over two hundred years ago, have been independently studied by two authorities, De Sacy and Dr. John Wortabet. The learned work of De Sacy, "Exposé de la Religion des Druses" (1838), is well known. In this brief account we follow the exposition of Wortabet, who was not only a conscientious scholar but whose knowledge of Arabic was practically that of a native. (See the chapter on the "Druses" in his "Religion in the East.")

pure darkness called the antagonist. From these two spirits God then derived a third, partaking of the nature of each and called the universal soul. By similar processes were evolved four other spirits, or ministers, making a total of seven: five being ministers of truth and two, ministers of error. All these spirits have been often incarnated. When the universal mind, or chief spirit of good, was incarnated in Lazarus (known as the True Christ), the antagonist, or chief minister of error, was incarnated in Jesus, who received instruction from the True Christ. When the antagonist became Mohammed, the universal mind was Selman'-el-Pha'risy. At the time of the incarnation of the Deity in El-Hakim, the universal mind was Hamzeh, the real founder of the Druses.

With the Nuseirîyeh belief in seven incarnations of the Deity is held to be fundamental. That of 'Ali, however, transcends all the rest in importance. For all subdivisions of this body the son-in-law of Mohammed is practically God. Each incarnation of the Deity, who is primarily regarded as the essence of light, is accompanied by the incarnation of two other elements, the three forming a sort of triad, the members of which are called the meaning (ma'ana), the name (ism), and the door (bâb). Thus when God was incarnated as the meaning in Abel, Adam was the name and Gabriel was the door. Jesus was only the name at the time that Sima'an-es-Sûfa (Simon-Peter) was the meaning. When 'Ali was the meaning, Mohammed was the name and Selman-el-Pharisy was the door. 'Ali is held to have created Mohammed, his father-in-law! It seems inconceivable that from the pure monotheism of Islam such wild doctrine could have developed. The followers of 'Ali, however, have always been characterized by minds hospitable to new ideas, or rather to the old ideas of other cults, including Persian Dualism and Christian Gnosticism.[1]

[1] The most recent work on the Nuseirîyeh is by M. René Dussaud, entitled "Histoire et Religion des Nosairis," being vol. CXXIX in the "Bibliotheque de l'école des Hautes Etudes" (Paris, 1900). "The Asian Mystery," by Rev. Samuel Lyde (London, 1860), contains material of great value.

The doctrine of incarnation as held by the Druses and by the Nuseirîyeh is now largely a matter of theory. With the Isma'ilîyeh of Syria, however, the doctrine takes a present practical form. Not only is God supposed to dwell in the sultan Mohammed Shah in Bombay, but he is also held to be tabernacled in a virgin, living on the edge of the Syrian desert, at Selem'yeh, which with Masyad' and Qadmûs', in the mountains to the west, constitutes the head-quarters of the sect. This girl is called the ro'dhah, which may be translated a greensward or pleasaunce. As long as she remains a virgin she is regarded as sacred, and the Isma'ilians wear bits of her clothing or hair from her person in their turbans. But should she marry—and she may do so honorably—search is made for a successor, who must be a girl born on a certain day in the year,[1] and who should conform to certain characteristics regarding her height and the color of her hair and eyes. At least two persons have surprised the Isma'ilîyeh at a service of adoration of the ro'dhah. One, a government official, who broke in forcibly, found the girl seated on a high chair dressed in a white robe, with a wreath of fresh flowers on her head. The worshippers were kneeling before her chanting sacred songs. According to the testimony of the other witness, a simple Syrian Christian, whom I questioned some ten years after his adventure, his observations were confined to the brief period between his accidental stumbling into a secret assembly and his rough ejection by one of the worshippers, who told him that any one else would have been promptly butchered! He happened to be on friendly terms with the prominent sheikhs. He remembers seeing a circle of some twenty or thirty initiates, seated on the floor, in an attitude of adoration of a girl of about sixteen years of age dressed in a black robe that entirely covered her person, with her hair hanging down on either side of her face which was left exposed. Some one held a book, but he was not sure whether it was the girl or her father, a prominent religious

[1] Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell was informed that every female child (of the Isma'ilîyeh) born on Rajab 27th is an incarnation of the Deity. (See "The Desert and the Sown," p. 233, London, 1907.)

sheikh. In fact, the witness was evidently conscientious in discriminating between what he remembered clearly and what he was hazy about. This girl has since been married and her place taken by another.

The cult of the rodhah appears to be an ancient form of nature-worship retained when the local inhabitants accepted the strange ideas of the Isma'ilîyeh. In the resultant synthesis both sets of ideas may have undergone alteration. In its present form this nature-worship appears to be symbolic rather than sensual. There is evidence that woman is venerated as the symbol of the earth-mother. From their earliest days followers of all the secret cults have been accused of indiscriminate immorality and wild orgies. No such accusation has been proved against any one of these religions as a whole. Dr. Post, indeed, has testified that chastity is the crowning virtue of the Druses. It is well to insist strongly on this point in closing these brief paragraphs, which are all that we have been able at the present time to devote to the secret cults.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WEST

THIS chapter deals mainly with mission work. In other words, it takes account of certain concrete forms of Western influence deliberately exerted with the aim of affecting one or more of the religious cults of Syria and Palestine. But these particular forms of influence are but parts of a great, indefinable, indescribable stream of tendency whose potency inheres in its very unconsciousness. It comes, indeed, from the West, but its name is the spirit of the times. In the Holy Land it had begun to make itself felt eighty years ago when American missionaries first landed at Jaffa. Fostered by Christian missions, in turn it helped their progress. It breathed in every school. It grew with the establishment of foreign mercantile houses, British, French, or Italian. Later it flashed along the new telegraph wires and whirred in the new printing-presses. It was fanned into a brighter flame by the massacres of 1860, which resulted in the short French occupation by the soldiers of Napoleon III. It was freshly manifested a quarter of a century later, when Lebanon peasants and other Syrians who, like their Phœnician ancestors of old, had ventured across the seas, first began to bring home the ideas of other lands. How powerfully it has worked during the last third of a century can be accurately gauged by comparing the attitude of the common people when a constitution was promulgated in 1877 with their attitude when precisely the same constitution was proclaimed in 1908. At the earlier period the people, ignorant and apathetic, were as little affected by the granting of rights as they were the next year by their withdrawal. When, thirty years later, 'Abd-el-Hamid was forced by the Young Turks to declare once more for constitutional rule,

the whole empire went mad with joy. When a few months later there appeared a chance that this would again become null, a deep gloom fell on the land. To a certain extent this change can be accounted for by definite influences. It is easy to point out that the leaders of the Young Turks learned their political lessons in Paris, Vienna, and Geneva. It is now well known that the liberal ideas spread through a mysterious secret propaganda, the extent of whose ramification was unsuspected before the revolution itself. It is quite legitimate to find an important factor of this preparedness of the common people in the spread of schools of all kinds through the empire. The paramount influence of the American mission schools, where principles of true liberty were not only taught but incarnated, cannot be overestimated. But greater than any one of these influences and greater than the combination of them all that could be named is the spirit of the times. All the Orient is feeling its touch. China has just awakened to it. It has recreated Japan; in time it is bound to recreate Turkey.

Our present thesis, however, is concerned with the concrete. First, then, what impression have Christian missions made on Islam in Syria and Palestine? The answer must be: No direct influence, except on a very few individuals converted at different times and places and having no coherence among themselves. Direct work on a large scale, conducted openly among Moslems in Turkey, has ever been impossible. Turkey is a Mohammedan state. Its sultan claims to be the successor of the prophet of Islam. According to strict Moslem law apostasy from Islam involves death. The extreme penalty is said to be still imposed by the emirs of certain semi-independent districts of Arabia. Lord Cromer once asked a qâdhi, or judge, in Egypt why the death penalty was no longer carried out. The qâdhi declared that the law was immutable. As a religious authority he would sentence an apostate to execution. If the secular authorities would not carry his sentence into effect, he was not responsible. The imperial proclamation, called the hatti sherîf of Gulhané, issued at Constantinople in 1839, promised to make no distinctions of race and religion in the treat-

ment of subjects of the Turkish Empire. In 1844, under pressure from the powers, the sultan 'Abd-el-Medjîd gave this written pledge: "The Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent henceforward the persecution and putting to death of a Christian who is an apostate."[1] Though the implication was that apostasy from Islam was indicated, the characteristic ambiguity of this pronouncement, doubtless intentional, gave no clear guarantees of immunity to Moslems who proposed to change their faith. The hatti Houmayûn of 1853, however, appears to have satisfied the Western world that no one was to be molested or punished, no matter what form of faith he might deny. Moslems in Turkey evidently took that view. Many began to study the Scriptures, sold by a converted Turkish colporteur. A Turkish gentleman who with his wife had become a Christian received official assurance that the sultan intended that all his subjects should enjoy perfect religious freedom. Moslems openly acknowledged their interest in Christian doctrine. A few of them attended a daily prayer meeting of the missionaries. Up to the year 1860 forty had been baptized. This state of things was not confined to the capital. Turks who had been baptized in different centres of the interior lived on in their own towns undisturbed. In his preface to his "Religion in the East," dated 1860, Dr. Wortabet, an Armenian Protestant resident in Syria, and a member of the American mission, wrote as if a new era had indeed set in. But in 1864 the reaction began. It is the habit of Turkish rulers to let tendencies work uncontrolled up to a certain point and then to act suddenly. 'Abd-el-Mejîd set spies to watch the missionaries as well as Mohammedans who leaned toward their teaching. A score of Turks were arrested on coming out of church and thrown into prison on some trumped-up charge. It is always easy to get two Moslem witnesses to testify that a Christian has cursed the religion of the prophet. But

[1] This declaration is quoted by Dr. J. L. Barton, secretary of the American Board (A. B. C. F. M.), in his authoritative volume, "Daybreak in Turkey" (Boston, 1908). On this general subject we have followed him closely. (See pp. 248 *ff*. of his work.)

the charge might have nothing to do with religion. The aim was to get the converts quietly out of the way. Some were exiled; others never came out of prison. The assurances given to Europe prevented direct and open persecution, but none the less a Moslem who became a Christian was obliged to flee the country. Officially the death penalty was never pronounced, actually a converted Moslem stood in fear of his life. There are many forms of "sudden death" in Turkey. Moreover, the convert had to reckon with unofficial fanaticism, perhaps exhibited by his own kith and kin, who in their own view had been irretrievably disgraced. Dr. Barton concludes that in spite of its reiterated declarations of religious liberty the Turkish government never intended to permit the right of Moslems to become Christians. He reports a conversation with a prominent Turkish official, who, after stating that there was full and complete religious liberty for all subjects of the empire, declared that no power on earth could change a man who once had become a Moslem. "Whatever he can say or claim cannot alter the fact that he is a Moslem still, and must always be such. It is therefore an absurdity to say that a Moslem may change his religion, for to do so is beyond his power." This man voiced a general Moslem opinion which has persisted unaltered since the recent Turkish revolution, if indeed it has not been accentuated thereby. The young Turk leaders, many of whom hold liberal or even agnostic religious views, believe to a man in a Mohammedan Turkey as a fundamental article of political creed. Justice to all races and faiths they are glad to grant; participation in the government is conceded; but the final control is to rest with the Turks, and the Turks are Mohammedans.

Such being the state of things in the Turkish Empire, it is no wonder that direct religious work among the Mohammedans of Syria and Palestine has not been attempted on any large scale. No society that made ostentatious display of such a work would be allowed to continue operations in these lands. Since 1875 work among Moslems has been conducted more extensively and systematically by the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England than

by any other society working in the near East. The medical work at Gaza, Nablûs, and other provincial centres has been very encouraging, as indeed such work always is by whatever agency it is conducted, but the attempt to follow up impressions made on patients by sending catechists to the villages, where they have returned after recovery, has been acknowledged by a prominent worker of the Church Missionary Society to be unsuccessful.[1]

The history of American missions tells a similar tale. Turning over the fascinating pages of Dr. H. H. Jessup's "Fifty-three Years in Syria," one reads from time to time of a Moslem convert; but in almost every case, a little later on, one reads how the new convert was obliged to leave the country. Such impression as Protestant Christianity has made on the Moslems has been through the dissemination of the Bible, the extent of which it is difficult to gauge; through the schools where Moslem children attend; through the colleges; and through admiration for the character of the missionaries themselves. Powerful, indeed, is this last-named form of influence, for these missionaries come into contact with all sorts and conditions of men, including religious leaders among the Moslems. Friendly relations once established—and with courtesy, tact, and patience the task is easy—intercourse becomes wonderfully frank. For the first time Puritan Islam comes in contact with Puritan Christianity. The 'ulama, or doctors of the Moslem law, begin to realize that elaborate forms and ceremonies, adoration before pictures and images, which to them means nothing but idolatry, the burning of incense and the mystery that enshrouds the Greek service of the mass, the assumptions of all the clergy and the pomp of the prelates, are no essential part of the practice of the Christian faith. Pious and upright men they have known among followers of the Eastern churches and among Roman Catholic missionaries, but among the Protestants they find a lofty morality un-

[1] See extract from a report made in 1905 by the Rev. T. F. Wolters, for thirty years a missionary in Palestine, quoted by Dr. Julius Richter in his "History of Protestant Missions in the Near East," p. 254; English translation.

hampered by elements that appear to them to be not only useless but pernicious. Such men as Bishop Gobat, of Jerusalem; Dr. Crawford, of Damascus; Drs. Thomson, Van Dyck, and Jessup, of Beyrout; Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Bird, of 'Abeih; Mr. Gerald F. Dale, of Zaḥleh; Mr. Fallscheer, of Nablûs—to name only a few of those who are gone —received the willing tribute of love, honor, and reverence from Moslems, Druses, and Christians. The death of such men comes as a public calamity. When Mr. Fallscheer passed away in one of the fanatical centres of Palestine—Nablûs, the ancient Shechem—Mohammedans joined with Christians in pleading for the right to carry his coffin from the church to the grave. "Our father is dead," they said, "and we are orphans." [1]

The progress of missionary effort among the Druses has been hampered by their very readiness to accept Christianity, following the operation of a fundamental doctrine inherited from the Isma'ilîyeh, which permits them to declare themselves to be of any faith that suits their convenience. "Other religions are cloaks," so says the old doctrine. "The esoteric religion is the real man. God knows your heart, so put on the cloak of any religion that suits your purpose." It is next to impossible to get a native Christian to acknowledge the possibility of the actual conversion of any Druse. While the sincerity of individual conversions has been tested in the judgment of English and American missionaries, there is no doubt that the general conduct of the Druses gives support to the cynical attitude of the Syrians. Before their conquest by Ibrahim Pasha in 1835, the Druses had made some pretence of being Moslems, lest they be confounded with the Christians who suffered oppression. When the conqueror, however, proposed to draft these splendid sons of the Lebanon mountains into his army, they determined to seek immunity by declaring themselves to be Protestants. Almost every day for several years the American missionaries were pestered with deputations from this or that village, begging for preachers, for schools, for catechists. Naturally the Americans proceeded

[1] Quoted in Richter's work (*op. cit.*), pp. 233, 234.

with caution, but a few schools were opened and a certain number of persons who went through a period of probation were baptized. To this movement the Turkish government put a stop, in 1842, by sending an army into the Druse district and by forcibly exacting a promise from the sheikhs that neither they nor their villages would ever apostatize from Islam. That the chief aim of the government was to check a definite movement that might further strengthen the influence of the English in the Lebanon, rather than to announce a religious principle, may be gathered from a "fetwa," or decision of the mufti of Beyrout, only five years later, who pronounced the Druses to be infidels and therefore not liable to death for apostasy from Islam![1]

In this connection it may be noted that the wholesale adoption of another faith by the people of a given church is a favorite form of threat to be held over their own clergy when they want their own way. We have seen how the Beyrout Orthodox threatened to become Anglicans when their plans for securing the bishop of their own choice were temporarily thwarted by the holy synod; and how the Maronites declared they would invite the Mohammedans to build a mosque in the heart of the patriarch's own territory if he continued to antagonize their wishes. I remember the tone of perfect impartiality with which a lad from a town north-east of Damascus told me, as we jogged along toward Palmyra, how his fellow-villagers had announced to their priest that they would become "either Protestants or Moslems" if he would not give in to them in some matter or other that had provoked a big quarrel. For similar reasons any announcement of individual "conversion" to Protestantism in Syria has to be carefully investigated, as some ulterior motive has often been responsible for an alleged change of heart.

Mission work among the Nuseirîyeh was started in 1854 by an independent English missionary, Rev. Samuel Lyde, who died in 1860. The work was carried on by the Ameri-

[1] See a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Chronicle of the Syrian Mission," edited by Drs. Lowrie and Jessup, and issued by the American Press at Beyrout, 1901.

can Reformed Presbyterians, resulting in the establishment of forty schools and in the baptism of a few individuals. But the government, acting even more forcibly than it had with the Druses, closed the schools, drafted the converts into the army, and pronounced the entire people to be Mohammedans.[1] Thus the work among the Nuseirîyeh was entirely checked.

In Palestine proper, there are at least eighty thousand Jews at the present day. In Syria there are some sixty thousand. Taken as a whole the Palestinian Jews hardly concern our present work, for they form no organic part of the native inhabitants of Turkey. They use Arabic only when they are forced to communicate with the natives; they preserve to a large extent the manners and customs of the various European ghettos from which they come; and probably the great majority of them are not Turkish subjects. Since 1490 Safed, indeed, has been without interruption the home of Jews; but with the exception of one family or clan the Hebrew inhabitants speak no Arabic. On the other hand, they have practically forced their Moslem neighbors to speak the language of the Bible. How far this use of biblical Hebrew in Safed has been due to the stimulus of Zionism I am not aware, but it is certain that owing to this movement biblical Hebrew has greatly spread in Palestine, being used even in business correspondence between Zionist banks. The present large Jewish population in Jerusalem is largely due to the enforced exodus from Russia and Roumania after the fierce persecutions of 1882. The Arabic-speaking Jews, to the number of some five thousand, are mainly from Yemen. There are some ten thousand Jews scattered in about thirty-three agricultural colonies, found almost literally from Dan to Beersheba, but they live practically isolated from their Arab neighbors even when they employ these as workmen.

Mission work has been conducted among the Hebrews of Palestine since 1825 by the London Society for Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. The centre of operations is Christ Church in Jerusalem, built in 1849, when there was

[1] See Richter (*op. cit.*), p. 209.

no other Protestant church in the Holy Land proper. Since 1839 some four hundred adults have been baptized and about three hundred infants, children of the former. The beautiful hospital of the society has stimulated the efforts of Hebrews in the line of medical work for their own race. The society maintains schools for boys and girls, a book depôt, and a house of industry. There are stations at Jaffa, Damascus, and Safed. Tiberias was occupied by the mission of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1884. Overlooking the Sea of Galilee a well-equipped hospital has been built. At Hebron also this society carries on medical work, and it has schools in Safed. Richter states that there are only slightly more than one hundred and fifty baptized Jews now in the Holy Land, but adds: "These form, however, but a small proportion of the Jews that have become Protestants, for very many have emigrated to escape persecution."[1]

The Jews found in Aleppo, Damascus, and elsewhere in Syria are to all intents and purposes natives of the land, knowing no language but Arabic. They all follow the Sephardic rite. Among them mission work has not made much progress. A missionary of the Presbyterian Church in England stationed at Aleppo declares that the fifteen thousand or twenty thousand Jews there resident are hardly more than Hebrews in name, ignorant not only of their own religious history, but of the Old Testament. They of course attend the synagogue, and they scrupulously observe the Day of Atonement by the rabbinical custom of killing a white cock for a man and a hen for a woman; but otherwise they share many of the superstitions of the native Moslems and Christians. In view of these facts I was astonished to learn from the same authority that every Jew in Aleppo, unless he is too poor, pays his yearly shekel toward the maintenance of Zionism. This is all the more extraordinary in view of the attitude of the average Jerusalem Jew toward this movement. While there are a score of prominent Zionists in the Holy Land, it may be confidently stated that Zionism means more in Vienna and Paris, in London and New York, than it does in Palestine. To the pious Orthodox

[1] Richter (*op. cit.*), p. 256.

Jews of Jerusalem, political Zionism is folly, if it is not blasphemy. God, they hold, is to bring back the Jews in His own time and way without human plan or assistance. To the thousands of Jews who earn their daily living in the holy city, Zionism has no significance one way or the other.

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer, missionary of the London Jews' Society in Damascus, states that it may be assumed the Jews have lived there continuously from the time of the Caliph 'Omar. Before that period they were excluded. Even later they suffered persecution. My missionary friend has heard a number of versions of a tradition explaining how this was changed to tolerance. In the days of storm and stress ten rabbis met together and agreed that for the good of their race they would devote themselves to perdition by becoming Moslems. They felt that by working within the pale of Islam they might be able to ameliorate the condition of their brethren. An angel appeared to them—or, according to one tradition, they heard the Bath Kôl, daughter of the voice of God—sanctioning their plan. Accordingly they abjured the faith, accepted Islam, and induced the authorities to treat the main body of Jews with more justice and kindness. The ruined mosque of Sheikh Arslan, outside the north-east corner of the city walls, is said to have been named from one of these ten rabbis. Not far away the traveller is shown the place where Saint Paul was let down in a basket to escape from persecution, that he might live to preach the Christ who had appeared to him as he first approached the city. It was this same Paul who later declared that he was willing to be "accursed" for the brethren's sake!

In Damascus there are now about twenty-five thousand Jews. Work among these by the London Society has been much impeded through lack of funds. There are, however, day-schools and Sunday-schools, largely attended Bible classes for young men of the better class, visitations by Bible women, and mothers' meetings. Service is conducted at present in a hired chapel. Work among the Hebrews of Beyrout is conducted by the Church of Scotland Mission to the Jews, which maintains excellent schools.

The highly successful work among the churches of the East which was stimulated by the establishment of the propaganda at Rome in 1622, and which culminated in the formation of the Uniate bodies or such portions of the old churches as accepted the allegiance of the pope, while in the main retaining their own ritual and local hierarchy, has been already treated in these pages with considerable detail. Undoubtedly the movement was begun as a true missionary enterprise, consciously aiming at the spiritual revival of the apathetic Eastern bodies and working for the instruction of their clergy, who were mainly in a state of great ignorance. But in seeking to achieve such a result, the Roman Catholic Church conducted a definite work of proselytizing. Before all, these Eastern Christians were to become Catholics. Every attempt to reform their conduct was, in the mind of the missionaries, logically linked with the purpose of restoring these schismatics or heretics, as the case might be, to papal allegiance. Among these missionaries there have been and there are to-day many men of piety and wisdom. In his sketch of the papal propaganda in Mesopotamia, Parry dwells on the zeal of the present Roman missionaries, on their liberality in dealing with the lower clergy of the United bodies, on their noble, self-sacrificing character, and on the great amount of good which they have accomplished.[1]

Consider we now the attitude toward the Eastern churches entertained by the first missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who entered Palestine early in the last century. There was no intention of proselytizing. The thought of forming a native Protestant community was not contemplated. A concrete instance will illustrate this attitude better than any general statement. The Rev. Levi Parsons landed in Jaffa on the morning of February 17, 1821, and proceeded at once to Jerusalem, where he arrived at five in the afternoon. He went at once to the house of Procopius, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who was at the same time assistant of the patriarch having charge of all the Greek

[1] "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery" (*op. cit.*), pp. 301 *ff.*

monasteries. Procopius had gone to attend the evening prayer at the chapel of the great convent. "Without a moment's delay," writes Mr. Parsons, "I hastened thither to unite with the professed followers of Christ on Mount Calvary, and to render thanks to God for the happy termination of my voyage to the holy city. . . . Everything was conducted with a pleasing stillness and regularity becoming so holy a place." Later he attended mass, as well as the Easter ceremonies at the Holy Sepulchre. His spirit was sympathetic rather than censorious. To be sure, he mildly wondered, after witnessing the antics of the Greek populace at the ceremony of the holy fire, why the hierarchy, in maintaining the superiority of their own form of Christianity, had failed to mention this feature, but we find no righteous fulminations against "gross superstition," "impious idolatry," "stupendous ignorance," and such like. His, rather, were gentler methods. During his few months' stay in Jerusalem, encouraged by the priests, he received constant visits from pilgrims and other members of the Greek Church, reading and expounding the Bible to willing ears. He was much cheered by the results. "If then," he says, "a missionary can reside here with no other employment than to read the Scriptures with pilgrims, not uttering a word respecting Catholics, Greeks, or Turks, a great work may be accomplished."[1]

Such was the spirit of the first American missionaries all over Turkey. Speaking of the work farther north, Dr. Barton declares that it was not the policy of the American board to weaken the Armenian Gregorian Church or to proselytize from it; rather those who, after hearing the preaching of the missionaries, felt that they must separate themselves from it were persuaded to remain within its fold and there to work for the gradual reform of its superstitions and abuses. Even as late as 1839, after the reactionary party within the ancient church had elected as patriarch a bigot who forbade the circulation of Protestant books among his followers, the Americans urged members of the Armenian Church who entertained evangelical views to

[1] See the "Missionary Herald" for 1822, p. 33.

wait patiently till such tyranny were overpast. Not until the patriarch, in 1846, issued a sweeping bill of excommunication against all Gregorians who favored the Protestants, was there any definite idea of organizing an Armenian Protestant Church at Constantinople. In 1850 all the Protestants of the empire, irrespective of their former ecclesiastical allegiance—Armenian, Greek, Maronite—were recognized as a definite community in a firman issued by the sultan.[1]

Beyrout, which for eighty years has been the centre of the American mission in Syria, was first occupied by the Rev. Pliny Fisk in 1823. At first his experiences were similar to those of Mr. Parsons in Jerusalem. Members of all creeds showed interest in the exposition of evangelical doctrine. But the Roman Catholics, alarmed at the success of the new movement, took prompt measures to crush it. It has been, and still is, a lamentable tendency of the warring Christian sects in Turkey to seek the aid of the Moslem authorities, who thus favor now one party, now another. In 1824 the papal missionaries induced the sultan to issue a firman forbidding the distribution of the Bible in Turkey. This order, indeed, became a dead letter, in consequence of the vigorous action of the British consul, when Messrs. Bird and Fisk were arrested for selling Bibles in the streets of Jerusalem. The co-operation of the powerful Maronite patriarch, then a very sovereign in his Lebanon mountains, was far more effective. Opposition to the Americans spread among the Maronite clergy and people. Absurd tales were afloat about the missionaries. It was believed by the credulous that they paid ten piasters (forty cents) a head for converts, which sum was like the widow's cruse of oil, never decreasing through spending; that they drew pictures of their converts so that if any one recanted they might cause his death by destroying his likeness; that they shot their sins to heaven with a gun.[2] But the situation had its tragic element. As'ad esh-Shidiaq, a brilliant young Maronite scholar, who had been secretary to the patriarch, gave in-

[1] See Dr. Barton's work, "Daybreak in Turkey" (*op. cit.*), pp. 157 *ff*.

[2] See Wortabet's "Religion in the East" (*op. cit.*), p. 361; also Jessup's "Fifty-three Years in Syria" (*op. cit.*), vol. I, p. 35.

struction in Syriac and Arabic to Mr. King, author of the locally famous "Farewell Letters," which gave his reasons for antagonizing the errors of Rome. Shidiaq not only polished the Arabic of these letters, but ended by accepting the views therein advocated. By the command of the patriarch, in the year 1826 he was imprisoned in the desolate monastery of Qannubîn, which hides in the deep gorge of the Qadîsha. There he was chained, tortured and beaten. The peasants were encouraged to visit his cell, to spit in his face, to call him vile names. Once he was assisted to escape, but he was recaptured and finally died amid the filth of his prison.[1]

The persecution which this incident illustrates resulted in the formation of a native Protestant body. In 1829 the Maronite patriarch pronounced his second ban against those of his flock who approached the American missionaries. "Let them be hereby excluded from all Christian society; let the curse cover them as a garment and sink into their members as an oil and make them wither as the fig-tree which the mouth of the Lord has cursed; the evil spirit shall also take possession of them, torturing them day and night; no one shall visit or greet them."[2] Turned out of their own communion, those who had been attracted by the preaching of the Americans demanded shelter in the Protestant fold. The missionaries were forced thus to give up direct attempts at reforming the Oriental churches from within. But while individuals were admitted to the Protestant communion, it was not till 1848 that the first Syrian Evangelical Church was organized in Beyrout with eighteen members, including four women.[3] Splendid types of men were some of the first Protestants—grave, earnest, dignified. By 1857 there were four such churches in Syria with seventy-five members. At the present day the communicants number over two thousand eight hundred. In 1870 the care of

[1] The details of the imprisonment are quoted by Dr. Wortabet (pp. 362 and 363) from the "History of the A. B. C. F. M.," by Joseph Tracy.

[2] Quoted by Richter (*op. cit.*), in a foot-note on p. 188.

[3] For the constitution of the church, see Wortabet (*op. cit.*), pp. 402 *ff*.

the Syrian mission was transferred from the Congregational Board (A. B. C. F. M.) to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (North), but regular presbyterial organization was not attempted till 1882. The Syrian synod now includes three presbyteries. The entire Protestant community in Syria and Palestine, resulting from the work of many societies, amounts to about ten thousand souls. Considering that, all told, some thirty-eight different Protestant agencies have been at work, the number seems small enough. Richter ascribes this to the especially malignant character of the persecution to which those who have declared themselves Protestants have been liable. Such persecution has not come only from the papal bodies. But while the attitude of the Greeks has usually been milder, the terrible experiences of the Protestants of Safîta, before the middle of the last century, were due to the co-operation of the Greek bishop with the Turkish authorities. For a number of reasons, among which the spirit of the times is prominent, direct persecution tends to grow less and less.

Undertaken as an indirect way of preaching the gospel, in the providence of God education has turned out to be the most powerful of all means for the spread of genuinely evangelical ideas. Stress was early laid on this feature of the work by the American mission. It was a prophetic instinct. A boys' school was soon started. The first girls' school ever established in the Turkish Empire was opened at Beyrout in 1830. These primary schools were the seeds of an educational system, involving all nations and creeds, that now flowers luxuriantly all over Syria and Palestine. When excavating an ancient site a dozen years since, near the town of Zakarîya, I missed one day the white turban of one of my boy basket-carriers. It turned out that 'Abd el-Latîf had been haled back to the little village school by the local "scribe," acting as truant-officer for the Department of Public Instruction at Jerusalem. About the same time this department had placed the care of a flourishing Moslem girls' school in the holy city in the hands of an American lady.

The first boarding-school for boys, established in Beyrout

in 1840, was transferred to the mountains in 1846, and became the famous 'Abeih Academy, where so many Protestant scholars were trained. In the same year a boarding-school for girls was opened in Beyrout. In the course of time schools of different grades spread over Syria. To-day the pupils of the common schools, high-schools, industrial schools, and the theological seminary number nearly five thousand. But the schools of the American Presbyterian mission form but a part of the Protestant educational work of Syria and Palestine. Almost all of the thirty-eight Protestant agencies now active in these lands—English, Scotch, Irish, German, Swedish, Danish—have their school systems all conducted on much the same lines, with the Arabic Scriptures as a main feature of instruction. This Arabic translation, begun by Dr. Eli Smith in 1849 and completed by Dr. Van Dyck in 1865, is pronounced to be one of the most beautiful versions ever made. Printed at the Beyrout Press, it has wide circulation over the whole Arabic-speaking world.[1] By order of their director-in-chief it has been introduced in all the Russian schools which to-day honeycomb the patriarchate of Antioch. Of the many Protestant schools we may signalize without invidiousness those of the Church Missionary Society of England, with over three thousand scholars in Palestine; the schools of the Prussian deaconesses, with the orphanage at Beyrout; and the most practical and efficient work of the British Syrian schools for girls, spread all over Syria, with some over four thousand pupils. No institution, however, has interested me more than the high-school at Hums, maintained by the local Protestant church, and housed in a new building erected mainly by native money. I am tempted to name its leading spirit, but I remember the modesty of this gentle soul and refrain.

The Protestant schools early acted as a stimulus on the other cults, whose educational establishment had chiefly been confined to the training of priests. Once Dr. Van Dyck was asked what errand he had in visiting a small

[1] From this press have been issued a large number of religious and educational works, mostly in Arabic.

village. "I am going to open two schools," he said, adding, with a twinkle of the eye, as he saw the anticipated look of surprise on the face of his questioner, "I shall open one to-day; the Jesuits will open the other to-morrow!" [1] By the year 1877 in Beyrout there were schools managed by Protestants, Latins, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Maronites, Jews, and Moslems. Twenty years later this much-instructed town, then possessing one hundred thousand inhabitants, possessed sixty-seven schools for boys and thirty-six schools for girls, with an aggregate attendance of over fifteen thousand. Since then schools and scholars have increased. It is no wonder that on installing a number of lines of electric trams in 1909 the company was able to demand that every conductor should speak either French or English. I fear that the attempt to enforce such an ordinance in London or New York, requiring, say, the knowledge of French or German, would cause more inconvenience to the public than a strike even!

The crown of the Protestant educational work in Syria is universally acknowledged to be the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout. It has also served to stimulate activity for higher education in the other cults. For example, at Beyrout we find colleges founded, at different periods after the American school, by the Jesuits, the Greek Catholics, and the Maronites. The Greek Orthodox College, conceived on a large scale by the Greek bishop, exists still largely in plan. The Syrian Protestant College is by birth a child of the American mission. In 1862 this body wisely decided that the country was ripe for an institution of higher learning, but that this should be independent of the mission, while in full co-operation therewith. The American board then released Daniel Bliss, who had served as missionary in

[1] It is only fair to note that the Jesuits tell similar tales of Protestant rivalry. The College of 'Ain Tura, in the Kesrouan district of the Lebanon, was established by the Jesuits in 1734. Later this was turned over to the Lazarists. Jesuit work became active again in Syria at the time of Ibrahim Pasha. The University of Saint Joseph at Beyrout (established after the Syrian Protestant College), with its academic and medical schools, is famous for its excellent teaching of French. From the Jesuit printing-press many learned works have been issued.

Syria since 1855, that he might organize the new enterprise. A board of trustees was formed in the United States, and the institution was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Those were strenuous war times in America, but sufficient money was collected there and in England to begin the college in 1866. It was started in a hired house with sixteen students and two teachers besides Dr. Bliss. All instruction was given through the medium of the Arabic language, though French and English formed part of the curriculum. Arabic also was the language of the Medical Department, inaugurated the next year. In 1882, however, owing principally to the difficulty of keeping up with the times in the translation of text-books, the language of the college was changed to English. This change immensely widened its scope and thus was prophetic of its present development. In its early days the students were confined to Syrians, Egyptians, and dwellers in other Arabic-speaking lands. To-day more than a dozen nationalities are represented, including seventy Armenians and one hundred Greeks. The geographical area from which come the eight hundred and seventy-four students enrolled in 1911 extends from the Ural Mountains to the Soudan, and from Greece and Egypt to Persia and India. There are six regular departments for boys and men: Preparatory, Academic, Commercial, Medical, Pharmaceutical, and Dental. The Academic Department, or School of Arts and Sciences, includes a teachers' course. The Training School for Nurses is in connection with a system of hospitals where the medical students may study various diseases and where the sick flock from all over the land. The members of the corps of instruction and administration number seventy-seven. Of these forty-one are Americans, twenty-five Syrians, four Swiss and French, three Greeks, two British, and two Armenian. The Department of Biblical Archæology offers inducements to students from Europe and America to study the antiquities of Syria on the spot. Turkish diplomas are issued to such medical graduates as pass the examinations conducted by a special commission sent by the Imperial Medical School of Constantinople.

These seven departments are housed in a score of buildings, spread over forty acres, on a bluff overlooking the Mediterranean, with the magnificent range of the Lebanon in full view. In the Medical School are graduates from the other missionary colleges of Turkey: Euphrates College at Harpoot; Anatolia College at Marsovan; the Central Turkey College at 'Aintab; the International College at Smyrna; and Saint Paul's Collegiate Institute at Tarsus. Friendly relations are maintained with Robert College at Constantinople and the English College of the Church Missionary Society at Jerusalem, while from the Protestant secondary schools of Syria and Palestine, too numerous to name, it draws the students best fitted to appreciate its own missionary spirit. In 1902 Dr. Daniel Bliss became president emeritus, being succeeded in the office of president by his son, Dr. Howard Bliss. From its very inception the college has had no more active worker either in Syria or in the United States than Dr. D. Stuart Dodge, the present president of the board of trustees.

Within the walls of the Syrian Protestant College are gathered representatives of all the religious cults touched upon in this book, except the Nuseirîyeh and the Isma-'ilîyeh. During the collegiate year of 1908–9 rather less than three-quarters of the student body belonged to the various Christian sects, the rest being non-Christian. Over one-half of the Christian students were Greek Orthodox (forming 39 per cent of the whole body of students); about one-quarter (or 17 per cent of the whole number) were Protestants, while the rest were divided among the following bodies, named in order of numerical strength: Greek Catholic, Armenian Gregorian, Maronite, Coptic, Roman Catholic, Syrian Jacobite, Armenian Catholic, and Syrian Catholic. Of the non-Christian students over half were Moslems (forming 14.5 per cent of the whole body of students); more than a third were Jews, the rest being Druses and Behais. All students are required to attend the preaching service on Sunday. There are other religious exercises obligatory on certain classes of students. Membership in the Christian Association is, of course, voluntary. Early

in the collegiate year of 1910–11, two hundred and seventy members had been enrolled. These may belong to any one of the many Christian bodies, while there is a pledge for such non-Christians—Moslems, Jews, etc.—as may wish to become associate members. The attendance at the open meetings is by no means confined to members, and special services often attract large crowds. Sectarianism is so far removed from the meetings that it would be hard to detect a difference of substance or of spirit in the prayers or remarks of Protestants and Maronites, Greeks and Syrians. At the meeting of the World's Students' Christian Federation Conference at Constantinople, conducted in 1911 by Dr. John R. Mott, one of the most impressive speeches was made by a Maronite delegate from the Syrian Protestant College. The spirit of brotherhood breathed in the quiet of the Y. M. C. A. services finds ample opportunity for practical testing on the athletic field, where the son of a Druse sheikh may have to own that he is beaten by the grandson of the peasant who owed feudal allegiance to his family, and where the foot-ball team may include members of half a dozen Christian sects under the Moslem captain.

The religious life of the Syrian Protestant College is a striking vindication of the programme of the first American missionaries, if we regard this as theory or as prophecy; and yet at the same time it is an equally striking vindication of their wisdom in departing from the programme in view of a practical necessity forced upon them. This programme did not include the formation of a native Protestant body, but looked toward the reformation of the old churches from within. How the creation of a Protestant church was necessitated by the hostile action of the prelates toward their followers who listened to the missionaries, we have seen. How this body, once formed, has never assumed large proportions, we have also seen. But that its influence has reached far beyond its own limits can be strongly asserted. Members of the old churches assert it strongly themselves. "You have not built up a large sect," said one of these recently to a veteran missionary, "but you have changed all the rest!"

The non-sectarianism of the Y. M. C. A. of the Beyrout College owes its very existence to the formation of a Protestant sect in Syria. This secured in advance a cohesion for the elaborate system of schools, later developed, in which the evangelical leaven has already worked to so large results among the children of all churches. What the future history of the Protestant church in Syria may be it is impossible to prophesy. As an organization it may increase or it may decrease, but in one form or another its work will go on. Decrease in numbers, indeed, may be in inverse ratio to the extension of its real influence. The pebble dropped in the pond sinks out of sight, but the circles go on ever widening for all who care to look. The more the older churches become infused with vital Christianity the less need there will be for men to become Protestants. This revival, however, has only just begun in Syria. I will frankly admit that at the present time the continuance in the old churches of men who have taken the evangelical point of view involves both loss and gain. The loss is to the individual who, keeping a nominal connection with his own church whose superstitions he has ceased to share, loses some of the "means of grace." But while he may suffer a personal loss, his church will enjoy an inestimable gain, provided that he join, with others of his manner of thinking, in the work of purification and reform.

Those who hope for reformation within the old churches of Syria and Palestine may find encouragement in results already achieved farther north in the Turkish Empire. Writing from Constantinople in 1911,[1] Dr. Patton, secretary of the American board, made the following significant statement: "I consider it practically assured that the original purpose of the board toward this [the Armenian Gregorian] church is to be realized. From the first our aim has been to revitalize a church which had lapsed into dead formalism and orthodoxy." The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople impressed him as a man of fine sincerity and earnest spiritual life. There are many signs that the Armenian

[1] See his article in the "Congregationalist" for January 19, 1911, entitled "Facing Europe and Mecca."

churches and people are awake to new opportunities. In 1911 one of the American missionaries at Constantinople was invited within a period of two weeks to preach in four Gregorian churches. A number of students preparing to enter the Gregorian priesthood have taken their theological training at the seminaries of the board. Many laymen holding evangelical beliefs who once would have been forced to become Protestants now remain in the old church. A committee of the Gregorian churches of Constantinople has overtured the head of the church, the Patriarch of Etchmizian, to institute a council for church reform. Dr. Barton states that "there are probably to-day more intelligent evangelical believers within the old Gregorian, Greek, and Syrian churches than comprise the entire Protestant body." [1]

But the religious teaching of the missionary institutions of Turkey finds response in the hearts of many who belong to no Christian body, and who probably will never formally abandon their own cult. It should be remembered that over a quarter of the students of the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout come under this category. It would be as unfair to ignore the existence of this influence as it would be to exaggerate its present power. What its future power may become is beyond all estimate. If ever a movement of reform, both practical and spiritual, is to develop and succeed in Islam—and I, for one, recalling the dark days of Christianity before the Protestant Reformation, do not despair of it—this will be led by men who have been taught by Christian missionaries to study the long-neglected life and teachings of Jesus, whom, under the name of 'Isa, they hold in theory to be one of the great prophets of God.[2]

So much in all fairness can be said for the influence of the West on the cults of Syria and Palestine. But as has been earlier hinted, the West may learn something from many, if not from all, the cults of the East. For the West but brings back to the East its own. Transplanted across

[1] See "Daybreak in Turkey" (*op. cit.*), p. 237.

[2] The Moslems hold to the inspiration of the Gospels, but believe that these have been altered and corrupted by Christians.

the seas, religion may have flourished more vigorously, may have borne fairer and sounder flower and fruit, but the seed was first dropped in the soil of the Orient. And this seed still germinates, often in the most unexpected places. In a richly illuminated Druse manuscript treating of the functions of the human body in a manner both quaint and practical, a young Maronite friend of mine found the words with which I close this volume. Now the Druses are never seen to pray, except at a public funeral, when, perhaps for the sake of policy, they follow the Mohammedan rite. It is popularly believed that even the initiated never pray even in their secret meetings. And yet these words of the old Druse manuscript, which the writer recommends his readers to repeat when they go to bed, constitute a prayer which might bring a benediction on any true believer, Eastern or Western:

"To Thee, O God, I come, determining to do what is meet in Thy sight. Let my eye, O God, sleep in Thy obedience. Let my strength be always on the side of Thy Grace. Take unto Thyself my waking and my sleeping hours; and place under Thy control my day and my night. Guard me, O God, by Thy eye which sleepeth not."



APPENDIX

1. OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED FROM THE BUREAU OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS

1. *Question:* Est-ce-que le titre "Oecuménique" ne donne aucun privilège au patriarche de Constantinople?

Answer: Le titre "Oecuménique" ne donne aucun privilège au patriarche de Constantinople. Ce titre a été donné à l'Évêque de Constantinople par des Synodes (Conciles) du VI[e] siècle, à raison de circonstances locales à Constantinople et surtout à l'occasion de l'élection pour le Thrône de *Byzance* du Directeur de l'Université de la Capitale, nommé *Jean.*

Le Patriarche Oecuménique, relativement aux autres Patriarches, equivalents à celui-la, ainsi que de rapport à tout *évêque* qui n'est pas subordonné au Thrône de Constantinople, est simplement "primus inter pares."

2. *Question:* Existe-t-il des circonstances où le gouvernement du Sultan peut regarder le patriarche Oecuménique comme chef de tous les orthodoxes (Millet-El-Roumi) en Turquie?

Answer: Ab antiquo, (dès la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs) le Patriarche de Constantinople a été reconnu comme le chef des orthodoxes en Turquie, d'où le titre attribué au dit patriarche "Millet-bassi" (Chef de Nation). Mais son autorité (domination spirituelle) n'est pas de même étendue sur les chrétiens, soumis spirituellement aux autres Patriarcats, vu que ceux-ci sont equivalents à, et tout-à-fait independents de celui de Constantinople.

3. *Question:* En quoi consiste l'indépendance des quatre patriarcats?

Answer: Elle consiste en ce que chacun de ces Patriarcats est administrativement independants des autres, tous ensemble, cela nonobstant étant administrés et reglés conformément à une même doctrine (celle de l'orthodoxie) et eux mêmes réglements (ceux des conciles Oecuméniques).

4. *Question:* Comment les Patriarcats d'Alexandrie, de Jérusalem et d'Antioche font ils leurs communications avec le Gouvernement à Constantinople?

Answer: Cette communication se fait ou par une correspondance directe avec le dit gouvernement, ou même moyennant les représentants des patriarcats en question, s'il y en a, en Constantinople, (représentants) dont le maintien dépend de la multitude d'affaires des dits Patriarcats à Constantinople.

5. *Question:* Est-ce-que le Patriarche Oecuménique peut aider ses confrères comme intermédiaire ou représentant dans leurs affaires avec le gouvernement?

Answer: Oui, cela peut se faire dans le cas que le Patriarche Oecuménique eut été prié pour cela, par ses confrères à titre des liens spirituels qui l'unissent avec ceux-ci.

6. *Question:* Malgré la théorie de l'independance des Patriarcats, est-ce-qu'il est jamais arrivé, surtout depuis les temps des croisés, que le patriarche Oecuménique a essayé de se mêler dans leurs affaires ou de leur contrôler (par exemple dans la question des patriarches d'Antioche pour quelques siècles)?

Answer: Il y a eu des circonstances, ou le patriarcat Oecuménique est intervenu dans les affaires des autres patriarcats, malgré l'independance de ceux-ci; mais cela n'a été arrivé qu'après l'invocation de cette intervention par les partis interessés, lesquels—au contraire—refutaient toute pareille intervention du dit Patriarcat en cas que celle-ci menaçait de porter prejudice aux privilèges reconnus des autres patriarcats. C'est cependant bien entendu que chacune des Sœurs-Eglises a de soi-même le droit d'intervenir aux affaires des autres, toutes les fois que la doctrine orthodoxe ou les lois et regles conformément auxquelles les églises sont gouvernées courent un risque évident.

7. *Question:* Pourquoi la consécration du Saint-Chrême se fait-elle seulement à Constantinople?

Answer: Seules raisons pour lesquelles le Saint-Chrême ne se fait qu'auprès du Patriarcat de Constantinople se sont que 1) sa préparation exige de grandes dépenses, et, 2) sa cérémonie exige un grand nombre de (du moins douze) prélats, nombre duquel les autres Eglises peuvent être privées pour des causes circonstancielles.

8. *Question:* Combien d'évêques approximativement sont soumis au Patriarche Oecuménique?

Answer: A quatre-vingt six monte auhourd'hui le nombre des Metropolitains et évêques subordonnés au patriarche Oecuménique.

9. *Question:* Est-ce-que le Patriarche Oecuménique partage avec ses confrères le droit de contrôler les affaires du Saint Sépulcre?

Answer: Oui.

10. *Question:* Pour quelle raison?

Answer: Parce que les saints Lieux et les endroits de pélérinage en général sont des biens appartenant à toute la Nation des Roums Ortho-

doxes, (Nation) de laquelle n'a été qu'une procuratrice la *Confrérie* (le Fraternat) du Saint Sepulcre, qui a pour chef le patriarche de Jérusalem et qui a pour mission principale de garder les Saints Lieux et les conserver en bon et sûr état au moyen des offrandes des pélérins orthodoxes et des autres dédicateurs.

. . . .

Du Bureau du Patriarcat—Grec.

2. THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESES OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX, SYRIAN JACOBITE, GREEK CATHOLIC, SYRIAN CATHOLIC, AND MARONITE CHURCHES IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE (WITH A FEW DIOCESES IN MESOPOTAMIA)

I. The Greek Orthodox Church

(*a*) *Patriarchate of Antioch.*—Antioch (diocese of the patriarch). Berytus (Beyrout). Laodicea (Latakia). Tripolis (Tripoli). Arcadias ('Akkar). Cilicia (Tarsus and Adana). Theodosiopolis (Erzerûm). Amidis (Diarbekir). Berœas (Aleppo). Tyros et Sidonos (Hasbeya and Rasheya). Auranitis (Hauran). Emesa (Hums). Epiphanias (Hama). Seleukias (Zahleh). Byblos et Botrys (Mount Lebanon). Edessa (in partibus). Eironopoulis (in partibus).

(*b*) *Patriarchate of Jerusalem.*—Jerusalem (diocese of the patriarch). Cæserea. Scythopolis (Beisân). Petra. Ptolemais (Acre). Nazareth. Lydda. Gaza. Neapolis (Nablûs). Sebaste (Samaria). Tabor. Jordan. Bethlehem. Tiberias. Philadelphia. Pella. Cyriacopolis (Kerak). Diocæserea (Sepphoris). Madaba. (The majority of the bishops are non-resident in their sees; see text.)

II. The Jacobite or Old Syrian Church

Patriarchate of Antioch.—Antioch (diocese of the patriarch). Jerusalem. Damascus. Edessa (Ourfa). Amida (Diarbekir). Mardin. Nisibis. Maiferacta (Farkîn). Mosûl. Ma'adân. Aleppo. Jezireh. Turabdîn. (There are six other bishops, but resident in monasteries without sees.)

III. The Greek Catholic Melchite Church

Patriarchate of Antioch. Aleppo. Bosrah (Hauran). Berytus (Beyrout) and Botrys (Jebail). Cæserea Philippi (Baniâs). Damascus. Heliopolis (Ba'albek). Emesa (Hums). Sidon. Tyre. Ptolemais (Acre). Tripoli. Zahleh.

IV. The Syrian Catholic Church

Patriarchate of Antioch. Baghdad. Damascus. Ḥums and Ḥama. Aleppo. Berytus (Beyrout). Jezireh. Mardin and Diarbekir (Amida). Mosûl.

V. The Maronite Church

Patriarchate of Antioch. Jebail and Batrûn (diocese of the patriarch, including the Besherreh district of the Lebanon). Aleppo. Beyrout (including part of the Metn district of the Lebanon). Cyprus (including the rest of the Metn). Ba'albek (including part of the Kesrouan). Damascus (including the rest of the Kesrouan). Tyre and Sidon (including the southern Lebanon). Tripoli (including the adjacent Lebanon district).

3. DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN 1909

A. Resident in the Convent of Constantine, Jerusalem

Bishops in convent	8
Archimandrites, members of the Holy Synod	9
Other archimandrites	21
Priests	26
Deacons	19
Lay brothers	55
	138

B. Resident Elsewhere in Jerusalem and Vicinity

Convent of Abraham	40[1]
Prison of Christ, near Saint Anne's	3
Deir Nicolaus	4
Deir Barsimus	8
Virgin's Tomb	6
Mount of Olives	4
Convent of Cross	6
Katamôn, summer residence of patriarch	2
Talabîyeh	3
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[1] Twenty-five of these monks sleep in the adjoining church of the Anastasis, or Holy Sepulchre. In the chapel of the Convent of Abraham the Anglicans have been granted the privilege of celebrating the holy communion.

C. Resident Elsewhere in the Holy Land

Bethany	4
'Ain Farah	1
Wady-el-Kelt (Mar Yuḥanna), including Hermits	15
Qaranṭel (Quarantania)	9
Deir Ḥajla	8
Mar Sâba	60
Madaba	1
Kerak	1
Es-Salt	2
'Ajlun	1
Mar Elyâs	4
Bethlehem	10
Hebron	2
Gaza	4
Bureij	4
'Ain Arîq	1
Lydda	3
Ramleh	5
Jaffa [1]	0
'Ain Karim	1
Beit Sahûr	1
Ramallah	1
Jifna	1
Bir Zeit	1
Beit Jala	1
Tayyibeh	1
Nablûs	1
Bir Yaqûb (Jacob's Well)	2
Nazareth	6
Acre	12
Haifa	3
Tiberias	5
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D. Resident in Other Countries

Constantinople	7
Athens	3
Cyprus	3

[1] During the recent troubles between the monks and the Syrian people, the latter obtained possession of the Jaffa property.

Crete	3
Moscow	4
Tsiphan	6
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Summary

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4. LIST OF FEASTS WHEN THE GREEKS AND MARONITES FORBID WORK

Greek and Maronite

Jan. 1.	Circumcision of Christ.
Jan. 6.	Baptism of Christ.
Feb. 2.	The Purification of Christ.
Mar. 9.	The Forty Martyrs.
Mar. 25.	The Annunciation.
June 29.	Saint Peter and Saint Paul.
July 20.	The Prophet Elijah.
Aug. 6.	The Transfiguration.
Aug. 15.	Repose or Assumption of the Virgin.
Sept. 8.	Birth of the Virgin.
Sept. 14.	Finding of the Cross.
Nov. 21.	Purification of the Virgin.
Dec. 25.	Christmas.
Dec. 26.	Commemoration of the Virgin.

Greek

April 23.	Saint George.
Aug. 29.	Decapitation of John the Baptist.
Oct. 26.	Demetrius the Martyr.
Nov. 8.	The Archangel Michael.
Dec. 6.	Saint Nicholas.
Dec. 9.	The Conception of Hannah.

Maronite

Feb. 9.	Mar Marûn.
Mar. 2.	Yuhanna Marûn.
Mar. 19.	Saint Joseph.

June 24. The Birth of John the Baptist.
July 31. The three hundred and fifty monks of Mar Marûn.
Aug. 1. The Maccabees.
Nov. 1. All Saints.
Dec. 8. The Conception of Hannah.

Work is also suspended on the great movable feasts.



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